THE

HISTORY OF NEWMARKET,

AND

THE ANNALS OF THE TURF.

VIEW OF NEWMARKET IN 1669

(From the original drawing in the Laurentian Library, Florence.)

THE

HISTORY OF NEWMARKET,

AND

THE ANNALS OF THE TURF:

WITH MEMOIRS AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
OF THE HABITUÉS OF NEWMARKET, AND THE NOTABLE
TURFITES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

J. P. HORE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. TO 32 CHARLES II.
A.D. 1625–1680.

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THE HISTORY OF NEWMARKET,

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THE ANNALS OF THE TURF.

BOOK VII.

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CHARLES I. was expected to go to Newmarket early in November, 1626, but it is very doubtful if the projected visit took place on that particular occasion.*

Charles I. Newmarket. 1627—1647. Visits and Sojourns of the King and Court. 1626.

However, in the meantime, the interests of Newmarket, and its sporting associations, were not neglected by the new sovereign, as we find a warrant was issued on the 4th of April, to pay Francis Wetherlay, Surveyor of his Majesty's Stables, £95 8*s.* 6*d.*, for repairing the stables and mews at Newmarket, St. James's, Sheen, and Royston. On the 2nd of August a similar warrant was issued in favour of Thomas Grey, under-keeper of the palace and garden at Newmarket, in payment of £150 for his service for nine years past, and £30

* The Rev. Joseph Mead, in a letter to Sir Martin Stutville, dated Christ College, Cambridge, October 14, 1626, says: "I know not what you take the cause to be of the King's not coming to Newmarket, as was expected, and he proposed; but I hear some of opinion that the Duke [of Buckingham] likes not so unguarded a place."—Harl. MS., 390, vol. i.

per annum for the future, during the royal pleasure. At this time Captain Henry Wood was authorized to take yearly out of other counties, fifty brace of partridges to be turned down about Newmarket, and fifty brace of hares to be put into the New Warren there; he was also to take away all dogs, guns, nets, and other engines likely to be hurtful to the said game.*

1627. February—March.

The first visit of Charles I., as sovereign, to Newmarket took place in the spring of 1627, where he and the court arrived on or about February 23rd. During the royal sojourn a great deal of state business engaged the attention of the king and his ministers. The baneful example of James I. in ignoring the liberties of the subject, disregarding the privileges of Parliament, and enforcing that right divine to govern wrong, typified in the royal prerogative, was again, unfortunately, of frequent occurrence. With such affairs we have little concern, therefore it is only necessary to notice such transactions as are affiliated to our subject. Thus on the 27th, Secretary Conway wrote to Secretary Cook, at Whitehall, that the king was in good health, "and follows his exercises according as the weather serves." On the 2nd of March the king wrote from Newmarket to James Ley, Earl of Marlborough,[135] his treasurer, directing him to send down a surveyor to view the defects in the pales of the hare warrens there and at Royston, and to issue warrants to cut down trees, and

* State Papers, Dom., vol. xxxix.; Conway Papers and Docquet Books, MS., P.R.O. *s. d.*

provide money that they may be speedily repaired. Three days after, Conway wrote to Coke that on the morrow they expected to leave Newmarket, and be at Theobalds the following day, where they would be able "to play their balls with quicker returns." *

[185] James Ley—sixth son of Henry Ley, Esq., of Teffont Ewins, county Wilts—having been bred to the bar, and having attained great eminence in his learned profession, was one of the Welsh judges, and in 1603 he had a separate call to the degree of the coif, probably in preparation for holding the office of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, to which he was appointed in the following year, when he was also knighted. He presided in the Irish court-house for about four years, resigning in December, 1608. Returning to England, he received the profitable place of attorney to the Court of Wards and Liveries, at the same time establishing the right of that officer to take precedence in court of the king's attorney-general, for which he had a privy seal dated May 15, 1609. On the elevation of Sir Francis Bacon to the great seal in 1617, Sir James was a candidate, in attendance on the court at Newmarket, for the attorney-generalship, and the Duke of Buckingham told Sir Henry Yelverton that he offered £10,000 for the appointment. Not succeeding in this, he was created a baronet on July 15, 1619. On January 29, 1621, he was constituted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was then about sixty-nine years of age, and in that year married his third wife, Jane, daughter of John, Lord Butler, by Elizabeth, the sister of the favourite, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, to whose patronage he probably owed his future advance in life. After performing the duties of his judicial office for nearly four years, he imitated the example of his predecessor, Sir Henry Montagu, by retiring from it and accepting the profitable place of Lord Treasurer on December 20, 1624. On the 31st of the same month he

* State Papers, Dom., vols. lv., lvi., *passim*.

was created Lord Ley, of Ley, in the county of Devon, the ancient seat of his family. He was more fortunate, however, than Sir Henry Montagu, for he retained the royal purse for the remainder of James's reign, and for more than three years in that of Charles I., who in the month of May following his accession created him Earl of Marlborough. He was removed in July, 1628, to make way for Sir Richard Weston, and retrograded to the almost empty title of president of the council, which he held for the few remaining months of his life. He died on March 14, 1629, and was succeeded in the family honours by his eldest son, Henry Lee, 2nd Earl of Marlborough.

Fower boye Ryders. Alsoe allowed for money paid to Anthony Knight and Richard Hester twoe Boye Ryders vnder the Riders of his Ma^ts^ Stable either of them at vj^d^ ℔ diem for their wages, and vj^li^ xvij^s^ vj^d^ ℔ ann' for each of their Liveries payable qu'rtly and Due to them for the halfe yeare ended at o^r^ Lady Day 1627 xvj^li^. 1647.

And to Rich^e^ Higges and Samuell Walton two other of the said Boye Riders at the same Rate likewise for their wages, and Livery due to them for one whole yeare ended at Michas 1627 xxxij^li^.—Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household, *s. d.* (m. 210 *d.*) MS., P.R.O.

To Peter Newton Esqr Gentl' vsher dayly wayter to his Ma^ty^ for thallowaunce of himselfe one gentl' vsher quarter waiter, one yeoman vsher, one yeoman hanger, twoe groomes of the wardrobe, and one Groome Porter for Riding and Attending his Ma^ty^ from Whitehall to Roiston, Newmarkett, and back to Whitehall menss Febrij et Marcij 1626 xxx^ty^ daies xxxviij^li^ x^s^ (m. 220 *d.*).

To Edward Walker one of his Ma^ts^ Farryers for Marshalling his Ma^ts^ Hunting horses for one yeare ended the last of January 1627 vpon one Bill signed by the Duke of Buckingham M^r^ of his Ma^ts^ Horse appeareth xxix^li^ v^s^. To Richard Wigdone and Thomas Walton his Ma^ts^ Marshall Farryers for marshallry by them done in one year ended at Xp'mas 1627

As by a Booke signed by the said Duke of Buckingham Ciiijviij^{li} xj^{s} iiij^{d}.—*Ibid.*, m. 225.

[This entry concludes the acccounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household, Series I., box G., bundle 4.]

On the 23rd of February, 1628,* we find the king and court again at Newmarket, where they sojourned until about the 10th of March, when his majesty returned, *viâ* Royston, to London, to open the new Parliament, which had been summoned to assemble there on St. Patrick's Day. The interval at Newmarket was a pleasant one with Charles and his courtiers, notwithstanding that the recent failure of the expedition to the Isle de Rhé, through the incapacity of the Duke of Buckingham, was a national disgrace, while at home the king's threats to levy taxation without the assent of Parliament threw the whole country into a ferment. Writing from Newmarket on the 3rd of March to Secretary Coke, Conway complains of being unable to move the king upon some pressing matter, "by his Majesty's continual being either upon his sports abroad or at tennis at home." Time and opportunity was found to

1628. February—March.

* The Rev. Joseph Mead, writing to Sir Martin Stutville, from Christ's College, Cambridge, Feb. 22, 1627–8, remarks (*inter alia*) that "We have two or three Comedies at Trinity this Shrovetide, and a stage there built to that purpose. But of the King's coming, it was not talked of, when I wrote last, and if it be, it is private and accidental. Some say he will be here on the Monday; and My Lord [Bishop] of Durham, that was, is now in the town, as is thought, for some direction to that purpose. Yet others doubt whether he will come or not. *But our doctors will be with you on Sunday at Newmarket*, and so bring us home more certain news. They say the sword, etc., is not come down, which is the reason of his coming is doubted of, being supposed he would [come] down the first time in some state."—Harl. MS., 390, vol. i.

issue orders for the protection of the game in various parts of the country, for the denization of Andrew Pitcairn, master falconer to the king, money for John and Walter Danker, sent to Holland to take hawks for the royal mews, and for the appointment of Rowland Roberts to the office of keeper of the king's wardrobe at Newmarket,* and for similar routine matters thereunto belonging.

1630. February—March.

The king, the court, the ministers, and every administrative board, from the Lords of the Admiralty to the Officers of the Green Cloth, were at Newmarket towards the end of February, 1630. This stately visit apparently lasted three weeks, and does not throw any light upon racing subjects.

On Sunday, the last day of February, "the Doctors [of the University] of Cambridge" were entertained at the palace at a cost of £35 18*s.* 9*d.*, and on the following day, Charles I. made his first Knight of Newmarket.† In June, Sir John Carleton received £200 for repairing the pales of the New Warren.

The cost of the royal stables for this year amounted to £12,438 19*s.* 4¾*d.*

Peter Paul Rubens was (according to some

* State Papers, Dom., vols. xciv., xcv., *passim.*

† *Ibid.*, vols. cl., cli. Sir Dudley Carleton of Halcomb, nephew to Secretary Lord Viscount Dorchester, was sworn one of the clerks of his Majesty's Council Extraordinary, August 31, 1623. He was knighted at Newmarket, on March 1, 1629–30, being the next knight made by Charles I. after his Excellency Sir Peter Paul Rubens. Sir Dudley acted as the king's agent, returning to and from the Hague, where he was joined with Sir William Boswell, in a special mission in August, 1632, and returned to England on the 9th of November following.

authorities) knighted by Charles I. during this royal sojourn at Newmarket, when the king presented him with the sword enriched with diamonds, which was used on the occasion, and added to the arms of the new knight on a canton *gules*, a lion *or*. It is probable that this honour was conferred on the diplomatist and not on the painter, for Rubens came to England as the ambassador of the Archduchess Isabella, to sound King Charles, ascertain his views, and pave the way for a peace, "the chief subject of whose employment was his proposition of a suspension of arms." The primary object of his mission to England was finally accomplished on the 15th of November, 1630, when the treaty of peace was concluded and signed at Madrid. The painter Rubens was serviceable to the diplomatist Rubens. His palette was often a passport to familiar admission to presences where envoys were admitted ceremoniously and seldom. The accomplished, winning, commanding cavalier, with brush in hand (the maulstick he did not use, his nerves were so steady) would charm and persuade, and overcome a royal or noble adversary in the easy intercourse of painter and sitter. Charles I., much prepossessed in favour of the illustrious artist, gave him just the opportunity Rubens desired, by sitting at once for his portrait. It was at the court that a nobleman, with the superciliousness with which the artificially elevated are apt to bear themselves towards those whom nature has placed on high, and with, perhaps, a smack of the envy which the favourites of fortune often feel towards the children of light (and sometimes *vice*

versâ), said to Rubens, "The ambassador amuses himself with painting occasionally." "No," answered Rubens, "the painter amuses himself with diplomacy." While performing, minutely and efficiently, his diplomatic duties, Rubens found time to paint pictures. The first — and one of his best — he painted for Charles I., is the well-known allegory, representing Peace and War. This picture, as interesting from the time and occasion of its birth, as it is precious for its excellence, after travelling to Italy, to pass a century in the Balbi and Doria Palaces in Genoa, returned to England, and was finally bought by the Marquis of Stafford for £3000, and by him presented to the National Gallery; assuredly on all accounts the fittest spot for its final resting-place. While in England, Rubens made sketches, nine in number, for the pictures, ordered by the king, to represent, on the ceiling of the throne-room in Whitehall, the deeds of James I. These pictures, the figures of which were of colossal size, were finished later in Antwerp. The price paid for them was £3000. On taking leave of England, Rubens received a handsome service of plate and a rich chain of gold, to which was attached a miniature likeness of the king; this he ever after wore round his neck.

Àpropos of the royal hospitality at Newmarket Palace, so frequently alluded to in connection with the sojourns of the court, Thomas De-Laune, Gent., discourses as follows:—

"The magnificent and abundant plenty of the King's Tables, hath caused amazement in Foreigners. In the Reign

of Charles I. there were daily in his Court 86 *Tables*, well furnished each Meal, whereof the King's Tables had 28 Dishes, the Queen's 24, 4 other Tables 16 Dishes each, 3 other 10 Dishes, 12 other 7 Dishes, 17 other 5 Dishes, 3 other 4, 32 had 3, and 13 had two each ; in all about 500 Dishes each Meal, with Bread, Beer, Wine, and all other things necessary. There was spent yearly in the King's House of *gross meat* 1500 Oxen, 7000 *Sheep*, 1200 *Veals*, 300 *Porkers*, 400 *Sturks*, or Young Beefs, 6800 *Lambs*, 300 Fletches of *Bacon*, and 26 *Boars*. Also 140 dozen of *Geese*, 250 dozen of *Capons*, 470 dozen of *Hens*, 750 dozen of *Pullets*, 1470 dozen of *Chickens*, for Bread 36,400 Bushels of Wheat, and for Drink 600 Tun of *Wine*, and 1700 Tun of *Beer*. Moreover, of *Butter* 46,640 [Qy. lbs.] together with *Fish*, and *Fowl*, *Venison*, *Fruit*, *Spice* proportionately. This prodigious plenty in the King's Court, caused Foreigners to put a higher value upon the *King*, and was much for the Honour of the Kingdom. The King's Servants being men of Quality, by His Majesties special Order went to *Westminster-Hall* in Term-time, to invite Gentlemen, to eat the King's *Achates* or *Viands*, and in Parliament-time, to invite the Parliament-men thereto."—"The Present State of London," p. 120.

A list of the statutory prices of Fir, Fin, and Feather, *temp.* Charles I., is printed in Rymer.

1628. To Peter Newton esquire gent' vsher daily wayter on his Ma^{ty} for him selfe, one gent vsher quarter waiter, one yeoman vsher, one yeoman hanger twoe groomes of the wardrobe and the Groome Porter for ryding waiting and attending on his Matie from Whitehall to Theobalds Royston and Newmarkett and back againe to Whitehall menss Febrij et Martij 1627[–28] xxij daies . . . xxviij^{li} iiij^{s} viij^{d} (Rot. 71).

To Sr Robert Vernon, Knight, Keep' of his Ma^{ts} house at Newmarkett for Broomes, Basketts, Shovells and other necessaries by him provided for the making cleane of the said house and chyminyes for a yeare ended at Michās 1628 as by warr^{t} dated the first of November 1628 appeareth . . . xiij^{li} viij^{s} viij^{d}.—Audit Office Records, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household (Rot. 66. *s. d.*).

To Thomas Levett by vertue of a warr^t dated the xx^th of November 1629 for Brooms &^c for his Ma^ts house at Newmarket for one whole yeare ending the last day of September 1629 . . . xiij^li vj^s viij^d. 1629.

To George Levitt keep of his ma^ts House at Newmarkett for Brooms and other necessaries to clense the said house for a year, ended at Mich'mas 1630 by warrant dated the xth of Novemb^r 1630 . . . xiij^li vj^s viij^d 1630.
(Rot. 68).

To Michaell Andrewes his ma^ts Chirurgeon for his Lodging out of Court three weekes when his Matie lay at Newmarkett in March 1630 and nyne weekes in the Progresse ended the fifteenth of September following in all twelve weeks at xx^s. the weeke, by warrant dated the xxviij^th of July 1632 . . . xij^li.—*Ibid.*

To Rowland Robert keep. of his ma^ts standing wardrobe at Royston and Newmarkett for the allowaunce of himselfe his man and diverse Labourers imployed in brushing and laying up of the hangings and oth^r wardrobe stuff in his Chardge in the monthes of October, January, ffebruary and March 1629[–30] vpon five bills . . . xxvij^li ix^s iiij^li.—*Ibid.*

The Grooms of the Chamber were entitled to and usually received the following fees when honours were conferred, viz. an Archbishop £4, a Duke £8, a Marquis £6, an Earl £4, a Viscount £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, a Bishop £2, a Baron £2, a Baronet £1, and a Knight £1.—P.S. 5° Car. I., No. 286.

Sir John Carleton.—Warraunt to thexcheq^r to pay vnto Sr John Carleton Baronett the some of 200^li for repaire of the pale of his Ma^ts new erected warren called Wilbraham Bushes betwixt the Townes of Newm'kett and Shelford in the County of Cambridge & for defraying of other necessarye chardges incident to the keeping of the said warren & game By order of the Lorde Visc: Dorchester & by him ꝑcured. Pro R.—Signet Office, Docquet Book, June 1630, *sub date*, MS., P.R.O.

Sr John Carleton. A warr^t vnder the Signet to Sr John Carleton Baronett to appoint some fitt ꝑsons once every yeare (when the season is) to take upp ꝑtridges in the

Counties of Suffolke Essex & Cambridge, for the stoare & increase of his Ma^ts^ Game about Newm'kett wth dirrecc̃on to acquaint the gent of those p̃^ts^ wth the occasion of theire comming to the end there may bee noe spoile made of the game nor abuse co̅mitted. His Ma^ts^ pleasure signified by the Lord Viscount Dorchester & by him p̃cured. Pro. R.—*Ibid.*

Sr JOHN CARLETON. A warr^t^ in pay vnder the Signett to S^r^ Jo: Carleton Knt, & Baron^t^ Co̅manding him to give Warning to such as use to hunt in his Ma^ts^ absence to forbeare to come w^th^in the liberties of Newmarkett &c, Entered at large. Procured by Mr. Sec. Coke. Dat. 13th die [April 1636] p̃ Rege.—*Ibid.* **1636.**

On or about the 10th of January, 1631,* the king, queen, and court arrived at Newmarket, accompanied by the Earl of Carlisle,[136] Groom of the Stole, the Earl of Holland,[137] Lord Warden and Justice in Eyre, and a brilliant suite of noblemen and gentlemen connected with the royal household. Like the preceding visit, no information has transpired in connection with the sports peculiar to the **1631. February—March.**

* "On Sunday last were published in the Court strict orders, appointing who should come into the Privy Lodgings, and who should not. The same day Sir Thomas Yale, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Mr. Patrick Murray, one of the King's carvers, did in the same room spit in one another's faces. The same night the masque was performed at the Court with great spleandour. The King and Queen went yesterday towards Newmarket, where the University of Cambridge shall be spared from furnishing preachers to the Court, the King's Chaplins in Ordinary being appointed to that function."—Mr. John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering; January 13, 1630[–31]. The real fact of the matter was that the queen brought down her own priests and the king his own parsons, so that between the rival churchmen the palace was a "hell upon earth" during the greater portion of this royal visit.

It seems from a letter of Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Pickering, Bart., dated London, March 7, 1631, that all despatches received from foreign embassies, etc., were sent direct to the king at Newmarket.

place—if, indeed, we may except the application of Thomas Grent, Doctor in Physic, for a patent for his invention of "a Fish Call, or a Looking Glass for Fishes, for Fishermen to call Fishes to their nets."

Soon after the arrival of the court at Newmarket the palace was the scene of a state wedding party, associated with a mixture of high life and human nature. Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., one of the King's Equerries, fell in love with Elizabeth Ashburnham, one of the Queen's Women of the Bedchamber. They made a match of it in opposition to, and without the assent of, Lady Jane Bacon, Sir Frederick's mother, who expected her son would have married into a higher and wealthier sphere. However, the king and queen approved of the match and promoted it by every means in their power. On the 4th of January, Charles wrote to Lady Cornwallis-Bacon announcing the nuptial fixture, and at the same time stating that he and the queen would honour the ceremony with their presence, which they determined should take place "where none have access" but such as those he chose to invite, commanding her ladyship to proceed forthwith to Newmarket, where she would be further informed of the royal pleasure and grace towards herself and her son. But Lady Jane had a will of her own, and did not budge an inch, and so the wedding took place without her being present at the ceremony. In this alliance the king and his consort evinced a lively interest: they not only honoured the nuptials with their presence, but promised to settle £3000 on the happy pair. Their majesties also interfered to effect a

reconciliation between Sir Frederick and his mother, who eventually forgave her disobedient son, as appears from the following royal correspondence on the matter.

On the 23rd of February the queen sent the following letter to Lady Bacon :—

"Henrietta Marie R.

"Right trustie and well beloved, we greet you well. Having taken into o^r particulare care and contemplation the good of your sonne, Sir Frederick, in regard of his matching with one who serves us in a place of such nearness, we cannot but be very sorry to understand that you are displeased with him for doing that whereby he hath made himself so pleasing and acceptable to us. Hence it is that wee have thought ourselfe tied both in honor and charitee to desire you that you wold not, out of any misconstruction of his proceedings, continue to withdrawe your countenance fromc him, but at our intercession vouchsafe to look upon him with the eye of a mother ; assuring yourself that the gracious intentions which wee carrye towards our servant and his wife shall extend themselfs in so large a measure, both towards him and towards you (if you will make use of them), as at last your owne good nature will acknolledge that your sonne could not have taken a better course, eyther for his owne advancement or for your satisfaction, then that wherein he is for the present. And so much you may beleeve from the mouth of this bearere, one of the gentleman ushers of our privie chamber, untill you heare it from our owne, which, if you do not frustrat the King's expectation, may be before wee go hence ; till when, and ever, we committ you to the protection of the Almightie.

"Given under o^r hand at Newmarket, this four and twenteth day of January [1630–31]."

"To o^r Right Trustie and Right Well Beloved the Lady Bacon.

"Henrietta Marie R.

"Rigt trustie and right well beloved, we greete you well. We are so sensible of the respect that you have shewed

to o^r^ request, in receyving againe your sonne into yor favor, that wee cannot chuse but let you know that wee take it very thankfully at your hands. If wee can prevaile but this much further with you, that you will extend the same kindness towards your daughter in law, and so receive them both into yor motherly care, you shall put such an obligation upon us as wee shall never forget, but remember upon all occasions wherein our favour can be of any use unto you; and, with this assurance, wee committ you to the protection of the Almightie.

"Given under o^r^ hand at Newmarket, this one and thirty day of January [1630-31]." *

Early in March the court left Newmarket for Royston, "intending to have lain at Theobalds, where, not finding their bedding arrived, they were forced to come to Whitehall, where, nothing being prepared for their entertainment, they were fain to try what hospitality the Prince of Wales kept at St. James's." †

[136] See *ante*.

[137] Sir Henry Holland, K.B.—second son of Robert Rich, created Earl of Warwick by James I., August 6, 1618, and Lady Penelope Devereux, daughter of Walter, Earl of Essex,

* "The Private Correspondence of Lady Cornwallis," edited by Lord Braybrooke. Sir Frederick Cornwallis was born in November, 1610. In May, 1617, he was created a baronet, and shortly after was appointed an equerry to the king. In 1643-4, Sir Frederick, then representing Eye in Parliament, retired with the king to Oxford, and sat with the members there; and about that time had the misfortune to lose his wife. He was attached to the royal cause during the Rebellion, and at the Restoration was created a baron: but his days were almost numbered, as he died suddenly on the 31st of January 1661-2. His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Crofts, of Little Saxham, survived her husband thirteen years.

† State Papers, Dom., vols. clxxxii., clxxxiii.; "The Court and Times of Charles I.," vol. ii.

Captain of the Guard—has been described "incomparably the most accomplished English courtier of his time, who, under a veil of universal complaisance and condescension, concealed the purest selfishness." He was elevated to the peerage, by letters patent, dated March 8, 1622, as Baron Kensington. He was subsequently employed to negotiate a marriage between Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) and the Infanta of Spain; and when that negotiation proved abortive, he was sent into France to sound the French court regarding a consort for the English prince. He was advanced, September 24, 1624, to the dignity of EARL OF HOLLAND, county Lincoln, and installed shortly after a Knight of the Garter. He married Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington, county Middlesex, by whom he acquired the manor of Kensington, and had (with four daughters—Frances, married to Sir James Thynne; Susanna, married to James, Earl of Suffolk; Mary, married to John, Earl of Bredalbane; and Diana) four sons—Robert, 2nd Earl of Holland and 5th Earl of Warwick, Charles, Henry, and Cope. After Charles I. became a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, the Earl of Holland, at the instance of the immortal Parson Hudson, took up arms, with other loyal persons, to effect the king's restoration, but miscarrying at Kingston-upon-Thames, July 7, 1648, the earl was pursued, made prisoner, and committed to the Tower, where he remained until after the execution of the king, when, being brought to trial with the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Norwich, Sir John Owen, etc., he was condemned to death, and executed by decapitation before the gates of Westminster Hall, March 9, 1649.

1631. To Peter Newton Esqr Gent vsher daily wayter, to his Ma^ty for the allowaunce of himselfe & one gent vsher qurtr wayter, one yeoman vsher, twoe yeomen hangers, and one groome porter, for ryding wayting and attending on his Ma^ty from Whitehall to Newmarkett and backe againe menss January 1630[–31] xxiiij daies . . . xxij^li (Rot. 69).

To Archiabald Haye esq^r gentl vsh^r daily wait^r to her Matie for himselfe, one yeoman vsh^r two yeomen hang^rs &

the Groome Port^r making ready for her Mat^{ie} viz, att Newmarkett menss Januar 1630[-31] xiiij daies vij^{li} xiij^s (Rot. 72).—A.O.R., *s.d.*

To Peter Appleyard vpon the Councills warr^t dated the xvj^{th} of Mrch 1630[-31] for rooms taken vp by Mr. Newton one of his Ma^{ts} Gent vshers for the placing of the Kings Ma^{ts} wardrobe stuffe for the space of three weeks at Newmarkett . . . vj^{li}.—*Ibid.*

To Robert Ford underkeep of his Ma^{ts} House at Newmarkett in considracõn of the want of his Lodgings at the tyme of his Ma^{ts} having being there by the space of three weeks by warr^t [dated] xv^{to} July 1631 . . lx^s.—*Ibid.*

1630-31. Fyson. A warr^t for John Fyson for ꝑseruacõn of his Ma^{ts} game of hernshaw, duck, & Mallard w^{ch}in the Limitts of Newmarkett and other places thereunto adioyning according to a former warr^t granted by his Late Ma^{ty} wth addition onely of a Clause for Assistance in that Service. His Ma^{ts} pleasure signified by Mr Pitcarne, ꝑ and by Mr. Kirke, Pro R.—Docquet Book, *s. d.*, MS., P.R.O.

1632. February. The king, accompanied by the queen, the Prince of Wales, the great officers of state and a splendid retinue, arrived at Newmarket on the 28th of February, 1632. The Earl of Pembroke was also present, from which we may infer racing and betting were on the *tapis*. *Àpropos* of betting, a curious wager was made by the king—the only one we have ever known him to make, at Newmarket:—Mungo More, an old attendant at the court, who at this time was over eighty years of age, was laid 3 to 1 by King Charles that he would not penetrate into the King of Sweden's camp.* Moore deposited his "three pieces" in the king's hands, "to be trebled on

* Gustavus Adolphus, who was killed at the battle of Lutzen, when opposed to Wallenstein, whose forces he overthrew.

his return home," and thereupon petitioned the Council to furnish him with a pass to enable him to undertake the journey occasioned by the royal wager; but whether he survived the voyage or won the bet is equally unknown.* This visit to Newmarket proved most enjoyable to the court, and passed off to the satisfaction of all concerned.† The doctors of the University of Cambridge were entertained at the palace at a cost of £36 18*s.* 8*d.*‡

Another royal visit to Newmarket took place in October, and apparently extended over five weeks, but it was curtailed "on account of the cold of that place."§ The king's progress to Scotland was decided upon, at this time, chiefly at the instigation of the Marquis of Hamilton,[138] Master of the Horse,‖ and there was a curious debate before his Majesty, "whether his ships ought to be manned with for every ton a man, or with a man for every two ton only. Sir Robert Mansell,[139] Sir Sackville Trevor,[140] and others of the old captains, were of the former opinion; and some of the newer captains of the latter; but the King, when he comes to town, will add the breathern of Trinity House to the consultation, and will be judge and umpire himself."¶ William Cavendish, Earl of

October.

* A curious wager of an angel laid by Charles I. to Lord Falkland, relating to Lord Clarendon's handwriting, is mentioned by Lady Theresa Lewis, in her "Lives," vol. i., p. 140.

† State Papers, Dom., vols. ccxi.–ccxiv., *passim;* "The Court and Times of Charles I.," vol. ii.

‡ Cofferer's Accs., Rot. 54.

§ State Papers, Dom., vol. ccxxix., No. 56.

‖ His accounts for this year are extant, but they do not contain any reference to the Turf.

¶ Mr. Prior to Lord Brooke, London, Oct. 25, 1632.

Newcastle, being at Newmarket at this meeting, was appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber, not because of his great abilities or qualification for the post, but because "he hath paid £2000 for it."* A comedy was performed in the queen's presence-chamber, which was fitted up specially for the occasion by the Board of Works, in which her Majesty played a leading part.

On October 21st the king arrived in London in good health, from Newmarket, "two days after the queen, who arrived here on Monday."†

We must not omit to mention that during this royal visit to Newmarket, Dr. William Harvey was in attendance on the court in his capacity of Physician to the Household, and obtained the usual allowance of £1 per week for lodgings out of court, in lieu of apartments in the palace. It was at Newmarket, some years previously, he perfected the discovery of the circulation of the blood in the *genus homo*; but as to beasts of venery the "discovery" was known to all the "Maisters of the Game" who wrote on venerie in England from the time of Edward II. Harvey having been reared on the borders of Epping Forest, in which his uncle was a keeper of one of its walks, was probably indebted to that circumstance for the idea of a similar system to be found in the human frame. At any rate this was placed as the third great discovery of modern times: Columbus being first, on the Western Hemisphere; Copernicus second,

* "The Court and Times of Charles I.," vol. ii., p. 187.

† Mr. Prior to Lord Brooke, London, Oct. 25, 1862; "The Court and Times of Charles I.," vol. ii.

with the Constitution of the Solar System; and Harvey third, as above mentioned.

[138] James, 3rd MARQUIS OF HAMILTON—eldest surviving son of James, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton, K.G., and Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James, 7th Earl of Glencairn—succeeded his father March 2, 1625. He was created, April 12, 1643, Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Avon and Inverdale, to him and the heirs male of his body; and in default thereof, to his brother, William, Earl of Lanark, and his male issue; and in default of such issue, to the eldest daughter of the said James, Duke of Hamilton, and her male issue; and in default of such issue, to the heirs whatsoever of the said James's body. He espoused the cause of Charles I., and was defeated and taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians at the battle of Preston, and suffered decapitation in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, March 9, 1649. He was Master of the Horse to Charles I., and some of his accounts in that employment are still preserved in the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London. He married Mary, daughter of William, first Earl of Denbigh, by whom he had four sons, all of whom died in infancy, and two daughters, of whom the eldest, Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, married Lord William Douglas. From this alliance descends the present Duke of Hamilton.

[139] SIR ROBERT MANSEL—third son of Sir Edward Mansel, of Margam, Glamorganshire, and Lady Jane Somerset, youngest daughter of Henry, Earl of Worcester—was knighted by the Earl of Essex for his valour in the capture of Calais in 1596, and having signalized himself in several encounters, was made vice-admiral of the fleet by James I., in which station he was continued by Charles I., and lived to a very old age, much esteemed for his great integrity, personal courage, and experience in maritime affairs.

[140] SIR SACKVILLE TREVOR—third son of John Trevor, Esq., of Trevallyn, Denbighshire, and Mary, daughter of Sir George

Burges, Knight, of London—was a naval officer of high reputation under the two first Stuart sovereigns. Having the command of one of the men-of-war sent to bring Prince Charles back from Spain in 1625, he saved his Royal Highness from being cast away in St. Andero's Road, by taking him into his ship. In 1626 he took the *Saint Esprit*, one of the largest French ships, on which achievement Howell, in his "Letters," compliments him, saying that, "It was one of the best exploits that were performed."

To Peter Newton Esqr Gentleman vsher daily wayter, to his Ma^ty^ for the allowaunce of himselfe, one gent vsher qu^a^rtr wayter, one yeoman vsher, one yeom' hanger & the groome porter, for ryding, wayting & attending on his Ma^ty^ from Whitehall to Newmarkett menss: Octobr et Novembr 1632, xxxvj^li^ : daies . . . xxxiiij^li^ iiij^s^ (Rot. 70).

1632.

To Sr Roberte Vernon, kn^t^ late keep. of his Ma^ts^ House att Newmarkett by warr^t^ dated xiiij^to^ Decembris 1632, for an Arrear of xxxij^li^ viij^s^ iiij^d^ for Service by him donne, As by the said warr^t^ wth his Bills therevnto annexed . . . xxxij^li^ viij^s^ iiij^d^ (*Ibid.*).

To Rowland Roberts keep. of his Ma^ts^ standing wardrobe at Royston and Newmarkett, ffor washinge of sheets, ffustians & such like necces. remayning in his Chardge for one whole yeere ended at Mich'as 1633, by twoe warr^ts^ dated the xxviij^th^ of March 1633 & the viiijth of October folowing . . . viij^li^ viij^s^ (*Ibid.*).

To Robte Ford his Ma^ts^ Housekeep' at Newmarkett for his Lodging out of Courte by the space of three weekes during his Ma^ts^ being at Newmarkett in October 1632 his lodgings being taken from him and otherwyse disposed of for the said tyme, by warr^t^ dated xviij^vo^ Febrij 1632 [—33] lx^s^ (*Ibid.*).

To Thomas Levett Housekeep at Newmarkett for broomes, shovells, & other necces for cleaning of his Ma^ts^ House and the Chimneys there, for two whole yeares ended at Michas 1632, vpon two warr^ts^ etc. . . . xxvj^li^ viij^s^ iiij^d^ (*Ibid.*).

To John Wolfe Rumbr, his Ma^ts^ Apothecary [in ordinary]

for his Lodging out of the Courte at several tymes viz. xiiij^en weeks during the time of his Ma^ts abode at Newmarkett in Feb^ry and March and after wards in the Progress of 1632 . . . xiiij^li (Rot. 78). [He was also allowed "for divers parcells of Phisicall Drugs and Odoriferous ℙfumes for his Ma^ts owne ℙson and service" in January, February, and March, 1632–33, £212 9*s.* 8*d.* (*Ibid.*).]

To Doctor William Harvey, Phisition for his Ma^ts Household, for his lodging out of Courte by the space of five weeks in the time of his Ma^ts being at Newmarkett in October and November 1632 by warrannte dated xx^mo Martij 1633 . . C^s (Rot. 71).

To Archibald Haye, Esqr gent vsher daily waiter to her Matie for himselfe, one yeoman vsher twoe yeomen hangers, & the groome porter for making ready for her Matie att Newmarket menss. Febr 1631 [—32] xviij daies ix^li xvij^s (Rot. 72). More to him for himselfe and like number of persons for making ready for her Matie at Newmarkett menss. October 1632 xviij daies ix^li xvij^s (*Ibid.*)—A.O.R., *s.d.*

The king was again at Newmarket in October, 1633, when the doctors of the University of Cambridge were entertained at the palace at a cost of £32 1*s.** **1633. October.**

On the 7th of March, 1634, the king, queen, the Prince of Wales, all the court officials, and some of the ministers of state—"and almost all the town with them"—were once more located at Newmarket, where the spring meeting was the great attraction. On the 7th, Secretary Coke, writing to Secretary Windebank, tells him that his Majesty was merry and cheerful, sound in health, and resolved to go to tennis, "because the day is windy and cold, and not **1634. March.**

* "Expens diett ℙ doctoribz Academ̃ Canterbr̃ apud Newmarkett menss. Octobr xxxij^li j^s."—Cofferer's Accs., Rot. 56.

fit to go abroad." Among other intelligence the secretary mentions that about the time the post went from Newmarket in the night, they were all awakened by a doleful cry of "fire," and since by distance all things multiply, especially from the court, the writer, in order to allay apprehension and prevent exaggeration, assured Windebank that the loss was confined to the demolishing of two butchers' cottages. On the 10th, the Lord Treasurer [141] records that the king went hunting in a cheerful mode, and in good health, "although he had lately a very dangerous fall, which made him only carry his arm in a scarf."* Her Majesty was also quite well. On the 13th, one of those quaint Newmarket proclamations (now rare) was issued, restricting the abusive vending of tobacco, by virtue of which all persons were forbidden to sell the same, until they obtained licence, upon pain of censure in the Court of the Star Chamber. From tobacco we get to saltpetre, Lord Petre, Irish affairs, the races, the gold cup, the approaching close of the meeting; the king in perfect health, "and at present at tennis;" the queen also well, "though she had taken a little cold;" the return journey and arrival in London (March 20), where the Earl of Southampton failed to pay his bets, "and has gone in all haste to France."† As usual, the doctors of the University of Cambridge were feasted at the palace, this time at a cost of £33 19*s.* 3*d.*‡

* Lord-Treasurer Portland to his Excellency Lord Deputy Strafford.—Strafford's Letters and Despatches.

† State Papers, Dom., vols. cclxiii.–cclxv., *passim.*

‡ Cofferer's Accs., Rot. 57.—See "The Art of Cookery Refined and

A royal visit in the autumn of the following year was arranged to have taken place, but in consequence of "the small-pox at Newmarket," the king and Court were prevented "going thither." * It seems the queen was expected at Newmarket in the month of July; but whether she came or no we have been unable to ascertain. 1634. c. October.

[141] Sir Richard Weston, Knight—elder son and heir of Sir Hierome Weston, Knight, of Boxwell, in Essex, and Mary, daughter and co-heir of Anthony Cave, Esq., of Chicheley, Bucks—born in 1577, was employed in the reign of James I. as ambassador to Bohemia, and subsequently to Brussels, to treat with the ambassadors of the Emperor and King of Spain, regarding the restitution of the Palatine. Soon after he was constituted Chancellor of the Exchequer, and elevated to the peerage, April 13, 1628, as Baron Weston of Nayland, county Suffolk. He was subsequently made Lord Treasurer of England, invested with the garter, and created February 17th, 1633, EARL OF PORTLAND. He married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter of William Pinchon, Esq., of Writtle, county Essex, by whom he had issue Richard, who died unmarried in the earl's lifetime; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Netterville, Knight, son and heir of Viscount Netterville; and Mary, married to Sir Walter Aston, Knight, son and heir of Walter, Lord Aston. The Earl of Portland married, 2ndly, Francis, daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Walgrave, Esq., of Boreley, in Essex, and had four sons and four daughters, viz., Jerome, his successor; Thomas, who succeeded his nephew as Earl of Portland; Nicholas, who died *s. p.*; Benjamin, who

Augmented. Containing an Abstract of some rare and rich unpublished Receipts of Cookery: Collected from the practise of that incomparable Master of these Arts, Mr. Jos. Cooper, Chiefe Cook to the late King; with severall other practises by the Author, with an addition of Preserves, Conserves, &c., offering an infallible delight to all Judicious Readers. London, etc., 1654. 12mo."

* Strafford's Letters and Despatches, *sub dato*.

married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Sheldon, Esq., of Hornby, in Leicestershire, and widow of Charles Villiers, Earl of Anglesea, and had two daughters—Elizabeth, married to Sir Charles Shelley, Bart., and Anne, who died an infant; Anne, married to Basil Fielding, son and heir of William, Earl of Denbigh; Mary Frances, married to Philip Draycote, Esq., of Paynsby, county Stafford; and Catherine, married to Richard White, Esq., of Hutton, in Essex. The Earl of Portland died in harness at Newmarket, March 13, 1634, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Jerome Weston, 2nd Earl of Portland.

1633. To Thomas Levitt keeper of his Maties House at Newmarkett for Brooms, Shovells &^c for the making and keeping cleane his Maties house there, and for sweeping the Chimneys by the space of one whole yeare ended the last daie of September 1633 by warrant dated the xxiij^th of November 1633 . . xiij^li vj^s viij^d—A.O.R. (Rot. 71).

1634. Vernon. A warrant to the Escheq^r to paie vnto Sr Robert Vernon, Kn^t late keeper of his Maties warren called Wilbraham Burhes betwixt the Townes of Newmarkett and Shelford in the Countie of Cambridge, and of the game there, and keep of his Maties house att Newmarkett the some of 276^li 3^s 4^d w^thout accompt, due to him vppon his seuerall patents for the said places, but could not bee paid w^thout his Maties speciall warrant in regard hee hath surrendered the said patents. Subscr' by order from the Lord Cottington procured by Mr Secr. Windebancke.—Signet Office, Docquet Books, May, 1664, MS., P.R.O.

To Rowland Robert keep of his ma^ties standing Wardrobe at Roiston and Newmarkett for washing of Sheetes &^c for halfe a yeare ended at Micch'as 1634 by warrant dated the vij^th daie of November 1634 . . iiij^li iiij^s (Rot. 71).

To Robert Ford keeper of his ma^ties house at Newmarkett for his Lodgings there being taken and imploied for his ma^ties service by the space of three weekes at xx^s the weeke, by warrant Dated xxij die Maij 1634 . . lx^s (*Ibid.*).

To Thomas Caldwell esquire his ma^ties Barber for his

lodging by the space of fower weekes in his Ma^ts iourney to Newmarkett by warrant dated xx^mo April 1634 . . . iiij^li.

To Dr David Beaton, Phisition to his ma^ty in ordinary for his lodging out of Court by the space of fower weekes in his ma^ts Journey to Newmarkett [when not stated] by warrant dating xxx^mo Junij 1634 . . . iiij^li (*Ibid.*).

To Archibald Hay Gent vsher dayly wayter to the Queens Matie for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman vsher twoe Yeomen of the Chamber and the Groomeporter for making readie her Ma^ts Lodgings at Newmarkett mens Febrij 1633[-34] xx daies xj^li (Rot. 73).

More to him with the s^d nomber making readie her Ma^ts Lodgings at Newmarkett menss. Julij 1634 x^en da: Cx^s (*Ibid.*).

The Rev. G. Garrard, writing from London to Lord Strafford, March 1, 1634–5, tells his Excellency that the snowy and frosty weather "hath diverted the King and Queen from going to Newmarket, upon which journey all the hearts of the Court were set." * 1635. March.

To Thomas Levitt keep of his Ma^ts House at Newmarkett for Broomes, Shovells &^c for Cleansing the s^d House in the year ended at Michaelmas 1635, by a warr^t of the vj^th of November 1635 . . . xiij^li vj^s viii^d (Rot. 72).

To Rowland Robertes keep^r of his Ma^ts House at Royston and Newmarkett (*sic*) for washing of sheets &^c by the space of one whole yeare ended at Michās, 1635 . . . £8. 8*s.* (? reading obscure) (*Ibid.*).

To Rowland Roberts Keep. of his Ma^ts Standing Wardrobe at Royston and Newmarkett for airing, Brushing, & making Cleane &^c with sondry nec̄rs by him & other done aswell in the Monethes of Novemb^r January & Febuary, & March 1634 as in the Monthes of Aprill, June & August 1635, by six Bills . . xxxv^li xv^s viij^d (*Ibid.*).—A.O.R., *s.d.*

LINDSEY. A graunt vnto Robert Lindsey Esqre of the

* Strafford's Letters and Despatches, *sub dato.*

Office of Keeping his Ma^ts^ howse at Newmarket wth the fee of 12^d^ ℔ diem and also the like fee of 12^d^ ℔ diem for Keeping the garden there during his life, and is vppon surrender of Thomas Lovett who lately held the said Offices and fees, Subscr by Mr Atturney ge̅rall vppon significac̃on of his Matie pleasure by Sr Raphe Freeman and procured vt. super. —Docquet Books, November, 1635, MS., P.R.O.

Preparatory to the royal visit in the spring of 1636, Robert Ford, under-keeper of Newmarket Palace, was paid £22 10*s.* out of his allowance of £30 per annum; and Robert Lindsey was appointed keeper of the "house and garden" there, with a fee of two shillings a day, on the surrender of Thomas Lovett.* It is therefore safe to assume that everything was ship-shape (ship-money was the staple stakes at this time over which the king eventually came to grief) against the arrival of his Majesty, whom we find located at the palace on the 24th of January, 1636. The visit terminated on or about the 5th of February, without any incident, in which we are concerned, save the warrant to Sir Robert Huddleston[142] for the preservation of the game at Newmarket and thereabouts, with the Seven Miles' Ditch,† and the following prohibition under the king's own hand:—

1636. January–February.

"Whereas wee are given to Vnder stand that our hount grounds within the Bounds of Newmarket there

* State Papers, Dom., vol. ccxcviii. 61. Lovett surrendered to him May 9, 1638. Docquet Book, Nov. 30, 1635.

† *Ibid.*, vols. ccxii.–ccxiv., *passim*. This warrant was cancelled, but subsequently renewed on the 19th of February, "for the preservation of his Majesty's game of hares and partridges below the Beacon at Newmarket, and the hunting fields, and the seven miles ditch."

are diuers both Lords and other of our subjects that usually giues their meeting there in those places wch Wee preserue for our own Sport these are therefore to will comañd you vpon sight hereof to giue warning to all such as uses to hunt in our absence to forbeare to come within our Liberties of Newmarkett and hereaftere as you will be answerable to vs upon your perill permit or suffer no man to come in our absence except such of our seruat^ts^ and others as bringe their hounds at those tymes of our being there to make vs sport. Giuen Vnder our Signett att our Court at Whitehall the 13th of Aprill 1636.

"To our Trusty and Well Beloued Sr John Carleton[143] Kn^t^ and Baronett whom we haue appointed for preseruing of our Game within the bounds of Newmarkett." *

[142] SIR ROBERT HUDDLESTON, or Hodelston, elder son of Henry Hodelston, of Sawston, and Dorothy, daughter of Robert, 1st Lord Dormer, by his wife, the Hon. Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu, succeeded his father in 1617. Sir Robert was for some time a gamekeeper to Charles I. at Newmarket. He married, 1st, the Hon. Mary Roper, daughter of Christopher, Lord Tyneham, by whom he had a son, Henry, who predeceased him, unmarried; and, 2ndly, Mary, daughter of Richard Tufton, Esq., and niece of Nicholas, Earl of Thanet, but had no issue.

William Huddleston, who settled at Swaston (six miles south of Cambridge) in consequence of his marriage with one of the co-heiresses of John Neville, Marquis Montague, was of an ancient family in Cumberland. His son, Sir John Huddleston, entertained the Princess Mary at his house, immediately after the death of her brother, King Edward VI., and contrived her escape to Framlingham Castle, for which

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cccxviii., No. 69 (149).

his house was plundered by the mob, who took part with Lady Jane Grey. The princess is said to have been conveyed to Framlingham "on a double horse behind Mr. Huddleston's servant." On her accession to the throne, she rewarded her protector by bestowing on him the honour of knighthood, and making him Vice-chamberlain. It has been said also, that she gave him a great part of the materials of Cambridge Castle to rebuild his house at Swaston. It may be observed, however, that this ancient mansion is chiefly composed of brick; the date corresponds with the tradition, for it appears it was built in 1557.

[143] Sir John Carleton, of Holcombe, in Oxfordshire, created a Baronet in 1627, was eldest son and heir of George Carleton, Esq., of Holcombe, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and co-heir to Sir John Brockett, of Brockett Hall, Herts, and inherited in 1631, under the will of his uncle, Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, that nobleman's estate at Brightwell, in Oxfordshire. He married, in 1625, Anne, daughter of Sir R. Houghton, Knight, of Houghton, in Lancashire, and relict of Sir John Cotton, of Lanwade, in Cambridgeshire, by whom he had one son and two daughters, viz. George, his heir. Anne, born at Cheveley, October 29, 1627, married in 1647 George Garth, Esq., of Morden, in Surrey, and had issue. She died in 1655. Catherine, born at Cheveley, in 1630, married in 1652 to John Stone, Esq., and died at Crawley, in Bedfordshire, in 1668, leaving, with other issue, a son and eventually heir, John Stone, Esq., of Brightwell, who died without issue in 1732, the last of his family, bequeathing his estates to Mary Stone, his widow, for life, with remainder to his cousin and heir, Francis Lowe, Esq., by whose descendants they have since been enjoyed. Sir John Carleton died in London, in November, 1637, and was buried at Brightwell. His widow survived until May 17, 1671, and was interred at Lanwade, the burial-place of the Cotton family. Sir John's only son, Sir George Carleton, of Holcombe, died unmarried in 1650, seised of the manors of Brightwell, Cadwallis, and Holcombe, in the county of

Oxford, and administration was granted to his sisters and co-heirs. At Sir George Carleton's decease, in 1650, the Baronetcy became extinct.

In October the king and court were again at Newmarket for another brief visit, when the depredations of poachers engaged his Majesty's attention. In a letter to the Chief Baron of the Exchequer and the Judges of Assize, he tells them that persons of inferior rank used great boldness in killing game, which is interdicted to them by great penalties, and, notwithstanding the late proclamation, are unable to be restrained; and that he was now resolved, as a probable remedy, that every tavern and ale-house keeper shall every year become bound in the sum of £20, not to dress or sell any venison, red or fallow, or any hare, pheasant, partridge, or heath-poult, and that he has committed the charge thereof to Sir William Uvedale[144] and Sir Thomas Hatton.[145] A letter was also sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Justices of the Peace there, requiring them to take care, "that every Taverne, Inkeeper, Ordinary Keeper, Common Cook, and Ale-house Keeper, do once every year become bound unto his Majesty in the sum of £20 not to dress, or suffer to be dressed, or directly or indirectly to buy to sell again any venison, red or fallow, or any hare, pheasant, partridge, or heath-poult." This most extraordinary injunction was formulated by the Earl of Holland, and is dated Newmarket, April, 1636.* October.

* Signet Office, Docquet Books, *sub dato*, MS., P.R.O. It would be interesting to know what steps were taken by the civic authorities in

Among the distinguished visitors at the Autumn Meeting at head-quarters in 1636 was his Excellency Thomas Wentworth, the unfortunate Earl of Strafford,[146] then on his way to resume his vice-regal administration in Ireland, which was hereafter to bring him to the block. In a jocular letter to his wife, he says: "If you win my Lady Dillon's money, you serve her right enough. On Saturday, my Lord,[147] her husband, wrought himself so out of breath to win a wager of five pounds, carrying of earth with a wheelbarrow to a pond-head, as, after the loss of his money, he fell aspewing most devoutly and myself a laughing most heartily. This is the life we lead." Then he mysteriously adds:—"This day seven night I begin my journey. But to you, in your ear, I am commanded by the K. to wait upon him at Newmarket, by the way, which will keep me longer by a week from you than I intended, and so you are like to have your desire—all the riggs be passed, I trust, before I put to sea." *

Etiquette was strictly enforced at Newmarket during these royal visits. One of Thomas Killigrew's servants who struck a harbinger was immediately arrested and sent to prison. To release him his master was obliged to enter into a bond of £500 for his appearance; but soon after his liberation he robbed his master of £400, and fled the land. When the circumstances of the case became known to the king, he was graciously pleased to direct that the

connection with this royal ukase. The humilities and indignities incident to an application for permission to search the records of the Corporation of London are such that few persons care to incur.

* "Life of Thomas Wentworth," by Elizabeth Cooper, vi., p. 405.

bond should be cancelled and Killigrew held harmless therein.

On the 23rd of October the Vice-Chancellor [148] and the doctors of the University of Cambridge were entertained at the Palace at a cost of £29 14*s.* 10*d.* *

It is difficult to say how long the king's visit lasted on this occasion. Owing to the Plague many of the royal accessories were dispensed with in order to minimise the risk of contagion; the theatres were closed, fairs interdicted, and race-meetings prohibited with a view of preventing the danger of spreading that dreadful epidemic. †

[144] Sir William Uvedale, Knight, of Wickham, Hampshire.

[145] Sir Thomas Hatton—youngest son of John Hatton, Esq., of Long Stanton, county Cambridge, and Jane, daughter of Robert Shute, one of the Barons of the Exchequer—was knighted by James I., at Hawnes, Nottinghamshire, July 26, 1616. He was created a Baronet by Charles I., July 5, 1641. Sir Thomas married Mary, daughter of Sir Giles Alington, of Newmarket and Horseheath, county Cambridge. He died September 23, 1658, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

[146] Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart.—eldest son and successor of Sir William Wentworth, created a Baronet by James I., June 29, 1611, and Anne, daughter and heir of Robert Atkinson, of Stowell, county Gloucester—was born April 13, 1593. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Wentworth was member of Parliament for the county of York, and also in the beginning

* Cofferer's Accs., Inrolments, Series II., box E., Rot. 96.

† "E.R. to —— London Sept. 28. 1636.

"I doe here from Court that the King and his Lords are to be all this weeke in Councell at Windsor and that vpon the 10th of October his Matie goes toward Newmarkett to stay there vntill Allhollandstide, but the Queene is to continue still at Oatlands."—Harl. MSS., 7000, fo. 362 *d.*

of that of his successor, but the latter monarch, soon after his accession, elevated Sir Thomas to the peerage by letters patent, dated July 22, 1628, as Baron Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, and further advanced him, on December 10 ensuing, to the degree of Viscount Wentworth. The next year he was sworn of the Privy Council, made Lord Lieutenant of the county of York, and president of the North. In February, 1632–3, he was nominated Lord Deputy of Ireland; from which government he was afterwards recalled to command as Lieutenant-General in the army raised against the Scots. In 1640 he was created Baron Raby and EARL OF STRAFFORD. Soon after he was made a Knight of the Garter, and constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. About this period the Republicans and Puritanical party prevailing in Parliament, Strafford became an object of their greatest distrust. An impeachment against him was voted by the House of Commons, when Pym was deputed to carry it to the House of Lords. Strafford was arrested, brought to trial, and finally condemned to the block. By signing the Earl's death-warrant the king paved the way to his own fate, and thus the firmest prop of the monarchy was, in the forty-ninth year of his age, consigned to the scaffold. He suffered death with his characteristic firmness upon Tower Hill, May 12, 1641. The Earl married, 1st, Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, by whom he had no issue; 2ndly, Lady Arabella Holles, daughter of John, Earl of Clare, by whom he had a son and two daughters; and, 3rdly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rodes, Knight, of Great Houghton, county York, by whom he had a son and daughter, both of whom died unmarried.

[147] Thomas, 4th Viscount Dillon, of Costello-Gallen, county Sligo. He married Frances, daughter of Nicholas White, Esq., of Deixlip.

[148] "Thomas Comber, nominated D.D., October 1, 1631, was born in Sussex, January 1, 1575; admitted Scholar, May, 1593; Fellow, October, 1597; Dean of Carlisle, August, 1630; in 1642 was imprisoned, plundered, and deprived of all his

preferments; and died at Cambridge, in February, 1653. He was a good scholar in the classical and Oriental languages, and one to whose character even his enemies bore the testimony of their applause. He has sometimes been confounded with another Dr. Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham, to whom he was related."— "Hist. University of Camb.," vol. ii., p. 187, by R. Ackerman. Lond., 1825. In Carter's "Hist. of the University of Cambridge" (Lond. 1753), the first-mentioned Dr. Comber, of Trinity College, is stated to have been Vice-Chancellor of that University in 1636 (p. 412, col. ii.).

HUDLESTON. A Warraunt vnder the Signet to Sr Robert Hudleston Kn^t^ for preservac̃on of his Ma^ts^ Game of Hares and Partridges belowe the Bacon at Newmkett & the Hunting fields wth the : 7 : Myles Ditch. Procured by Mr. Wm Murray of the Bedchamber Dated the : 10th February 1635.—Signet Office Docquet Books, Nov., 1634—Oct., 1638, vol. xi., *sub dato.* 1635-6.

Sr ROBERT HUDLESTON. A warrant to Sr Robert Hudleston Kn^t^ for the p^r^servacon of his Ma^ts^ game of all sorts w^th^in the Towns, Hamletts, and P^r^cincts staid of the parrishes of Borrowgreene, Brinckley, Carleton cum Willingham, Weston Colvill &c., Western Waterles, Westwrattin, Westwickhan &c. neere bordering vpon Allington Hill his Ma^ts^ hunting place, when hee is pleased to reside att Newmarkett. Subcr' by his Ma^ts^ pleasure signified by Mr Secr. Windebanke, Procured by Mr Murray of the Bedchamber Dated [blank].—*Ibid.* 1636.

Sr ROBERT HUDLESTON. A Warrant vnder the Signett to Sr Robert Hudleston, Kn^t^, for the preservacon of his Ma^ts^ Game of all sorts from Bornebridge vnto the Ditch next Newmarkett on both sides the way including the Parke. Subscr by Sr Abraham Williams. By Order of Mr Secr. Coke by & him ℔cured. Dat j^o^ Die Dec. [1637] Fee ~ *6s. 8d.*—*Ibid., sub dato.* 1637.

To Rowland Robt's Keeper of his Ma^ts^ standing wardrobe at Royston and Newmarkett for washing of Sheetes for

1636. halfe a yeare ended at Ladie Day 1636 by warr^t dated the xvj^th of Aprill 1636 . . . iiij^li iiij^s (Rot. 73). [Similar payment for the half-year ended 1636.]

To Robt'e Lindsey esq^r Keeper of his Maties house at Newmarkett, for Basketts, Broomes, Shovells, Sweeping of Chimnies &^c within the time of this Account by warr^t of the xvij^th of Febry 1636 . . . Xiij^li vj^s viij^d.

To Robert Ramsey, Randolph Floyd, and Richard Stocke for riding and attending on his Ma^ty at Hampton Courte, and from thence to Theobalds, St Jameses and Newmarkett from the ffirst of January 1635 to the last of March following 1636 being at the space of iiijxx vj daies at ij^s each man ℔ diem . . . xxvij^li vj^s (*Ibid.*) (*sic*).—A.O.R., *s.d.*

A prevalence of cold easterly winds and the plague, which increased and diminished in intensity, "according

1637. to the change of the moon," kept the court in London, and caused the usual royal visit to Newmarket to be abandoned in the spring of 1637.*

In December, Sir William Russell,[149] of Chippenham, and his son, Francis Russell, obtained a special licence from the king for the preservation of the game at Newmarket "and divers places near adjoining." †

[149] The Russells of Chippenham, Newmarket, Cambridge. The first member of this family recorded is Thomas Russell, of Yaverland, in the Isle of Wight, who held the manors and advowsons of Yaverland and Wathe, the manor of Rouburgh, in the Isle of Wight, and Carisbroke Castle, *in capite*, and died *temp.* Henry VI.

* Rev. G. Garrard to Lord Deputy Strafford.

† "Sr Wm Russell.—A license vnder the Signett to Sr William Russell Knight & Baronett & Francis Russell his sonne for preservacon of his Maties Game in divers places neere adioyning to Newmarkett. Subcr by Sr Abraham Williams, By Order of Mr Pitcarne Mr Faulconer to his Ma^ty & by him procured. (Fee 6*s.* 8*d.*)"—Docquet Book, *sub dato*, M.S., P.R.O.

Sir William Russell, Knight, of Chippenham, in the county of Cambridge (son of William Russell, Esq., of Surrey, and grandson of Maurice Russell, of Yaverland), having been many years Treasurer of the Navy, was created a Baronet by Charles I., January 19, 1628–9. As mentioned above, both he and his son Francis were appointed gamekeepers to that king at Newmarket and the places adjoining. Sir William married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Cherry, Knight, but by that lady had no issue. He wedded, 2ndly, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Gerard, Esq., of Burnell, in Cambridgeshire, and had seven sons and three daughters, viz. (i.) Francis, his heir. (ii.) William (Sir), sometime of St. Edmundsbury, commonly called the Black Sir William, and styled the cream of the Russells, on account of his loyalty. He married Anne Bendish, an heiress, but left no issue. (iii.) Gerard, of Fordham, in Suffolk, married, 1st, Mary, daughter of — Cherry, Esq., of Surrey, and had three sons; Gerard and John, the two younger, died issueless, but the eldest, William, of Fordham, married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Cromwell, son of the Protector, and had, with other issue, Francis, baptized at Fordham Abbey, January 19, 1691, and buried in the city of London. He married, and left to survive childhood, Thomas, a military officer, born February 27, 1724, who had two children, a son and daughter, viz., William Russell, who died abroad. This gentleman, if he had survived Sir George Russell, Bart., of Chippenham, would have succeeded to that ancient title. Rebecca Russell, who married, 1st, James Harley, Esq., but by that gentleman had no issue. She married, 2ndly, William Dyer, Esq., of Ilford, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the county of Essex, and by him (who died January 17, 1824) left at her decease, January 17, 1832, three sons and two daughters, viz. William Andrew Dyer, of Harley Street, London; Charles Adams Dyer, of Canewdon Hall, Essex; Thomas John Dyer, of the Hon. East India Company's service; Mary Eliza Dyer, and Louisa Dyer. Mr. Gerard Russell married, 2ndly, a daughter of — Lloyd, Esq., and by her had one daughter, Mabel, married to Richard Russell, Esq. (iv.) Edward, the fourth son of Sir William

Russell, was buried at Chippenham, July 10, 1647. (v.) Robert, was buried at Chippenham, February 17, 1640. (vi.) John, baptized January 31, 1620; died an infant. (vii.) John, baptized November 29, 1624; died without heirs. (i.) Elizabeth, Sir William Russell's eldest daughter, married, 1st, Edward Lewknor, Esq., of Denham, in Suffolk, and had a daughter, Mary Lewknor, married to Horatio, 1st Viscount Townshend. Mrs. Lewknor, having survived her first husband, wedded, 2ndly, John Gauden, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Worcester. (ii.) Anne, married to John Bodvile, of Bodvile Castle, in Carnarvonshire, and had a daughter, Sarah Bodvile, married to John, Viscount Bodmyn, son of the Earl of Radnor. The Viscount dying in the lifetime of his father, the widow was raised by patent to the rank of an Earl's wife. (iii.) Sarah, married to Sir Thomas Chickley, Knight, of Wimpole, county Cambridge. Sir William Russell married, 3rdly, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Michael Smallpage, Esq., of Chichester, and relict of John Wheatley, Esq., of Catesfield, in Sussex; by this lady he had two other sons, namely, (viii.) William, baptized December 7, 1621; died young, (ix.) William (Sir), of Laugharne, in Carmarthenshire, created a Baronet Nov. 8, 1660. This ninth and youngest son of Sir William Russell, Bart., of Chippenham, was commonly called the White Sir William. He married Hester, daughter of Sir Thomas Rous, Bart., of Rous Seneh, and had an only daughter, his heir, Mary Russell, married, 1st, to Hugh Calverley Cotton, Esq., elder son of Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., of Combermere, by whom (who died before his father) she had an only child, Catherine Cotton, married to Thomas Lewis, Esq., of St. Pierre. Mrs. Cotton married, 2ndly, Lord Arthur Somerset, son of the Duke of Beaufort. Sir William Russell, of Laugharne, died about the year 1714, when his Baronetcy expired.

Sir William Russell, Bart., of Chippenham, was succeeded by his eldest son and heir, Sir Francis Russell, 2nd Baronet, who married, at Chippenham, September 19, 1631, Catherine, daughter and heir of John Wheatley, Esq., of Catesfield, by Elizabeth Smallpage (which Elizabeth, as stated above, married for her second husband Sir William Russell),

by which lady he had issue: (i.) John, his successor. (ii.) Robert, born October 21, 1644, of Mildenhall, in Suffolk, married the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Soame, Esq., of Thurlow, a captain of foot in the service of Charles I. (iii.) Gerard, born January 2, 1645, a Hamburg merchant, married Miss Yonker, of Hamburg. (iv.) Killephet, born in 1647, died in 1650. (v.) Killephet, born March 11, 1652, left a son Francis, who died an infant. (vi.) Edward, baptized at Chippenham, October 12, 1654. Of his six daughters, (i.) Elizabeth, married Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, younger son of the Protector, and had issue Oliver Cromwell, his heir, who died without heirs; Henry Cromwell, of Spinney Abbey, an ancestor of the Cromwells of Cheshunt Park; Elizabeth Cromwell, married to William Russell, of Fordham. (ii.) Sarah, died an infant in 1637. (iii.) Sarah, baptized August 24, 1639; married, 1st, to — Reynolds, Esq., of Cambridgeshire; and, 2ndly, Henry, Earl of Thomond. (iv.) Catherine, baptized December 23, 1641; married — Sheeres, Esq., of Hertfordshire. (v.) Frances, baptized November 18, 1649; married to John Hagar, Esq., of Bourn, in Cambridgeshire. (vi.) Anne, married to Henry Underwood, Esq., of Wittlesey, in the Isle of Ely.

Sir Francis Russell was succeeded by his eldest son and heir, Sir John Russell, 3rd Baronet, who was baptized at Chippenham, October 6, 1640. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and widow of Richard Rich, Esq., son of Robert, 3rd Earl of Warwick, and had issue three sons and two daughters, viz. (i.) William, his heir. (ii.) Rich, captain in William III.'s Guards, married Mabel, daughter of Gerard Russell, Esq., of Fordham, and died without heirs. (iii.) John, born October 14, 1670, Governor of Fort William, Bengal, married, 1st, Rebecca, sister of Sir Charles Eyre, of Kew; and, 2ndly, Johanna, widow of Col. Rivett: by the latter he had one daughter, who died young; by the former he left at his decease, December 5, 1735, a son and three daughters. Of his daughters: (i.) Christian was buried at Chippenham, August 28, 1669; (ii.) Elizabeth married Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart., of Thirkleby, in Yorkshire, and was maternal

ancestor of the present Sir Frankland Russell, Bart., of Thirkleby.

Sir John Russell was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir William Russell, 4th Baronet, who married Miss Gore, of Ireland, and had two sons and a daughter, viz., William, his heir; Francis, successor to his brother; and Mary, who died unmarried in December, 1735. Sir William, having spent the remainder of a considerable fortune in raising troops at the Revolution, sold his estates at Chippenham, and, dying in September, 1707, was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir William Russell, 5th Baronet, who died in Ireland without heirs, in May, 1738, and was succeeded by his brother,

Sir Francis Russell, 6th Baronet, one of the Council at Fort William, in Bengal, who married Miss Gee, and was succeeded by his only son,

Sir William Russell, 7th Baronet, Lieutenant of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, who died unmarried in 1735, and was succeeded by his kinsman,

Sir John Russell, of Checquers, county Bucks, 8th Baronet. He married Catherine, daughter of General George Carey, second son of Viscount Falkland, and had two sons—John, his successor, and George, heir to his brother. The former succeeded his father in 1783 as 9th Baronet, and died unmarried in 1802, when he was succeeded by his brother,

Sir George Russell, who died without issue, April 25, 1804, when the Baronetcy expired, and the estate of Checquers devolved upon his aunt, Mary Russell, Bedchamber-woman to her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia, at whose decease, unmarried, the property of the Russells of Chippenham passed to her cousin, the Rev. John Russell Greenhill, LL.D.

The king and court were at Newmarket from the 20th of February to the 7th of March, 1638. On the 27th of February, Sir John Coke,[150] in a despatch to Secretary Windebank, mentions that "the fair weather will keep us here til the end of next weeke for ought wee yet know.

1638. February—March.

The Lord Duke of Lennox[151] went this morning from London," and that "the French Ambassador is here with much contentment." The doctors of the University of Cambridge were entertained at the palace, in the month of February, at a cost of £38 14*s.* 11*d.*; the last entry of the sort we have met with in the reign of Charles I. A proclamation was issued limiting the trade of making hats or caps to the members of the corporation of beaver-makers of London, and although it does not refer to the caps worn by jockeys, it prohibited the importation of foreign beavers and other hats, and the intermixing of any hair or other stuff with beaver in making hats. A great deal of business in connection with that fatal ship-money was done and performed, alas! too effectually for the welfare of the Turf and its concomitants.

A remarkable incident occurring at this time illustrates the perversity of Charles I. in relation to this illegal tax:—The Council of War at Whitehall, early this year, instructed General Sir Jacob Astley (a predecessor of the Barons Hastings) to proceed to the Scilly Islands and report to them on the state fortifications, etc., there. His report was submitted on the 1st of March, to the effect that it was necessary certain expenses should be incurred in repairing the forts, in supplying stores, ammunition, etc. To this the Council agreed. The necessary funds to meet the cost were to be obtained from ship-money levies, but the difficulties attending its collection producing delay, Charles became impatient, and summoned the

Council and Sir Jacob Astley to proceed to Newmarket and explain to him there, "on Sunday next," why they failed to seize the effects of certain persons who had not paid this unconstitutional impost. To Newmarket the Council went in hot haste, where they waited on the king, and having explained that the procuring of the sinews of war did not form a portion of their duties, they were graciously dismissed and ordered to return to London, with the royal commands to see, on their arrival at Whitehall, that high pressure was used by the ship-money collectors, to obtain the amount necessary to put the Scilly fortification upon an efficient war footing.

Tradescant says that at this time the bustard "as big as a Turkey" was usually taken by greyhounds on Newmarket Heath.* The Rev. C. A. Smith, in an interesting paper on the Great Bustard, observes—"In 1667 Merrett notices that the bustard was 'taken on Newmarket Heath and about Salisbury'" ("Wilts Mag.," vol. iii., p. 132).

[150] Sir John Coke, of Hallcourt, county Hereford, Master of Requests, was knighted at Whitehall, by James I., September 9, 1624. As above mentioned, he subsequently became one of the Secretaries of State to Charles I.

* John Tradescant, a Dutchman, formed a collection of natural rarities and curiosities at South Lambeth, in London, in the seventeenth century. These were catalogued by his son, a distinguished botanist, and published under the title of "Musæum Tradescantianum," Lond., 1656, 8vo. By a deed of gift in 1659 the collection passed to his friend Elias Ashmole, Esq., by whom they were presented to the University of Oxford, where they are still preserved in the Ashmolean Museum. John Tradescant the elder (his son dying before him) died September 11, 1662. Some of the sporting accessories of Henry VIII. are among the collection; also a specimen of the bustard and the great auk.

He was frequently at Newmarket in attendance upon the king.

[151] James Stuart—eldest son of Esme Stuart, 3rd Duke of Lennox, and Katherine, only daughter of and heir of Gervase, Lord Clifton—succeeded on the death of his father, July 30, 1624, as 4th DUKE OF LENNOX in Scotland, and 2nd Earl of March in England. He was advanced, by letters patent, dated August 8, 1641, to the Dukedom of Richmond, with remainder, in default of heirs male of his own body, to his brothers and their heirs male primogenitively. He was Lord Great Chamberlain, and Admiral of Scotland, Lord Steward of the Household, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and a Knight of the Garter. He married Lady Mary Villiers, only daughter of George, Duke of Buckingham, and relict of Charles, Lord Herbert. He died March 30, 1655.

To Wm Baker * keeper of his Ma^ts^ house at New-Markett for provisõns of Broomes Basketts and Shovells and for clensing the s^d^ house within one whole yeare ended at Michas 1638 by warr^t^ dated the xiiij^th^ of November 1638 . . . Xiij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^ (Rot. 74). 1638.

To Thomas Hide keeper of his Ma^ts^ standing wardrobe at Royston and Newmarkett for washing of sheets and ffustians within one yeare at Michãs 1638 by twoe warr^t^ one dated the iiij^th^ of October 1638 & the other the xv^th^ of October 1638 . . . viij^li^ viij^s^ (*Ibid.*). And for service by him done within one yeare ended at Michãs 1638, by eight Bills . . . xlvj^li^ (*Ibid.*).

To Edward Sharpe his Ma^ts^ Marshall Farrier at CC^li^ ℔ ann payable halfe yearely due to him for the like tyme ended at Michas 1638 . . . CC^li^ (Rot. 75).

* Robert Lindsey surrendered his office of the Keepership of Newmarket Palace and the garden there on May 9, 1638, to William Baker, during his life, with the usual fees of 2*s.* a day. This patent is preserved in the Public Record Office, but it is very much mutilated through damp.

To Henry Woodcock his Ma^ts^ Yeoman Farrier for service by him done in blouding drenching & cureing of his Ma^ts^ Hunting horsses from the Feast of St Michaell Tharchangell 1638 to the same Feast next ensuing, as by his bill of particulars signed by the Lord Marquis Hamilton, M^r^ of his Ma^ts^ Horse and others appeareth . . . xxviij^li^ xvij^s^ vj^d^ (*Ibid.*).

To Thomas Hyde Keeper of his Ma^ts^ standing wardrobes at Royston and Newmarkett for washing of Sheets Fustians Pillowbers &^c^ for a whole yeare ended at Michās 1639 by twoe warr^ts^ . . . viij^li^ viij^s^.

1639.

To Wm Baker esq^r^ Keeper of his Ma^ts^ House at Newmarkett for provičon of Broomes Basketts shovells wheelebarrowes &^c^ to make & keepe cleane the said House and alsoe for the charge of sweeping the Chymnies for one whole yeare ended at Michās last past by warr^t^ dated the sixth of February 1639 . . . xiij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^ (Rot. 75).

To Thomas Hyde Keeper of his Ma^ts^ Standing Wardrobe at Royston & Newmarkett for the charges & disbursements of himselfe his man and diuers Labourers by him hired for the brushing ayreing & laying vpp of his Ma^ts^ Wardrobe stuffe in his charge in the monthes of October, December Febry & March 1638 April June & August 1639, By seaven Bills . . . xxxv^li^ xvij^s^ iiij^d^ (*Ibid.*).—A.O.R., *s.d.*

From the despatches of James, Marquis of Hamilton, to the Earl of Traquair, dated Newmarket, March 18, 1639, it seems that some of the King's ministers occupied the Palace at this date.—Historical MS. Coss., Appendix to the ix. Report, page 260 *a*.

To William Baker Keeper of his Ma^ts^ House at Newmarkett for his lodging abroad and removing his goods att severall times in fiue yeares vpon his Ma^ts^ comeing thither for xv^en^ weekes at xl^s^ the weeke by warr^t^ dated the xth of Febry 1639[–40] . . . xxx^li^ (Rot. 76).

1640.

To Thomas Hyde Keep of his Ma^ts^ standing Wardrobe att Royston and Newmarkett for the charges and disbursements of himselfe his man and diverse labourers imployed in the ayreing brushing and clensing of his Ma^ts^ wardrobe

stuffe in his chardge in the months of December February and March 1639 and Aprill June July and August 1640 by seaven bills . . . xlix.li ixs iiijd (*Ibid.*). [This is the last entry relating to Newmarket Palace in the Accounts of the Treasurers of the Chamber of the Household until the year 1666.]

In 1641 the king paid a brief visit to Newmarket, in the month of March; but, beyond the bare fact of his having knighted three persons, we know nothing of his sojourn on this occasion.* 1641 March.

Exclusive of the honours and dignities previously mentioned, the following persons were knighted by Charles I. during his sojourns at Newmarket Palace:—

"1627 [N.S.]. March 21. William Poshal.
1632. March 19. William Witherington, of Witherington.
1626. October 16. Thomas Ingram, of York.
1641. March 12. John Read.
Robert Compton.
March 13. — Fortescue." †

We can find no reference in the State Papers to the spring meeting at, or the king's visit to, Newmarket in 1642. According to "England's Remembrancer," Part II. (London, 1676), p. 51, Charles I. arrived at Newmarket on the 7th 1642. March.

* In a book entitled "A Discourse of divers Petitions," by John Spencer, published in 1641, is a "Petition delivered unto our gracious King Charles upon this occasion: the King was to go towards Newmarket upon Monday, *but the waggon and the hounds went through Cheapside upon the Lord's Day*, which was not lawfull o King; I never heard that they removed since upon the Lord's Day, so gracious was the King's care therein. Good King Charles, Remember to Keep holy the Sabbath Day."

† "A New Catalogue of Dukes, &c., by T. W[alkley]," Lond., 1657.

of March this year, and probably sojourned there until about the 13th, as, on the 14th, this authority states the royal party had reached Huntingdon on that day.

Almost simultaneously with the king's arrival, a committee of both Houses reached Newmarket with the declaration of Parliament, which they immediately presented to his Majesty at the palace, on March 7, 1641–2. It is printed in Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," Book iv. The committee comprised the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery the Earl of Holland, Lord Dunsmore,[152] Lord Seymour,[153] and eight of the members of the House of Commons.*

Mr. Clements R. Markham, F.S.A., in his excellent "Life of the Great Lord Fairfax," says:—

"The civil war became inevitable when Charles obstinately refused to allow the Parliament to have a voice in the nomination of the lord-lieutenants of counties. After his lawless attempt to seize the five members, the safety, and indeed the very existence, of the two Houses clearly depended on their having some control over the militia. This appears to have been more or less evident to both sides from the first. The mission of the Queen to Holland with the crown jewels had for its main object the collection of arms, to enable Charles to levy war against the representatives of the people, and his final departure from London was a virtual avowal of his hostile intentions. But the King himself was quite unequal to the great and wicked enterprise which he meditated; and Strafford, the only very able man on his side, was dead. Charles evidently felt this. His conduct was vacillating and uncertain, and his temper more than usually irritable. Both sides saw the mighty responsibility of an appeal to arms, and the volumes of State papers which flew backwards

* MS. Bodleian Lib., Oxon.

and forwards, show the extreme anxiety both of the King's advisers and of the Parliament to make out a good case before the country.

"Sir Thomas Fairfax was a man of action and of few words, and he took no part in public affairs until Charles brought the centre of attraction to his very door by establishing his head-quarters at York. Yet it will be necessary to cast a glance over the rapidly developing stages of the paper controversy which followed the departure of the King from London, and continued with ever-increasing activity, even after the war commenced.

"The Militia Bill set forth that, whereas there had been a most dangerous and despotic design upon the House of Commons, it was ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that certain noblemen named in the Bill should be the lord-lieutenants of the several counties, with power to call together, arm, and train men fit for the wars, and to appoint deputy-lieutenants. In short, the House demanded the right of seeing that the power of the sword was in the hands of men on whose honour and loyalty they could rely. Charles refused his assent to the Bill, and left London, fully resolved upon attempting to destroy the Parliament, but undecided and irresolute as to the means.

"On March 9 (*sic*), 1642, a Committee from both Houses overtook the King at Newmarket, and presented a declaration urging him to join with his Parliament in defence of the religion and public good of the kingdom, to put from him his wicked and mischievous counsellors, and to return to London. The conduct of the weak, misguided man, on this occasion, was undignified and peevish.

"He gave the lie to the Committee in the coarsest terms, grossly insulted the Earl of Pembroke, who was one of their number, and flatly refused to give up his absolute power over the militia for a single day. On March 15th he continued his journey northwards, and arrived at York on the 18th, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, his nephew the Prince Elector [Rupert], and several officers of his camp. On this occasion he did not take up his residence at the Manor

House, as usual, but at the house of Sir Arthur Ingram, in the Minster Yard" * (pp. 42, 43).

Such was the last visit but one paid by Charles I. to Newmarket. We can find no trace or reference to the king or his court having been at Newmarket again until 1646, when he arrived there for the last time, a prisoner in the hands of the Parliamentary forces.†

[152] Created Earl of Chichester, July 3, 1644, *ob.* December 21, 1653. Clarendon describes him "as a man of rough and tempestuous nature, violent in pursuing what he wished, without judgment or temper to know the way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of power with forward and discontented men; at least he had credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest reputation was, that the Earl of Southampton married his daughter, who was a beautiful and worthy lady."

[153] "The Lord Seymour, being brother to the Marquis of Hertford, was a man of interest and reputation; he had been always very popular in the country, where he had always lived out of the grace of the court; and his parts and judgment were best in those things which concerned the good

* "The journey from York, about 55 miles, occupied two days: on the evening of the 16th of August, the King arrived at Nottingham, and took up his quarters at the Earl of Clare's, who was then recorder of the town. From the time that he left Newmarket, the King seldom slept in a house that he could call his own, until he was taken as prisoner to his own palace of Holdenby. Henceforth his days, few and evil, were passed in pilgrimage; its shrines were battle-fields, its goal a bloody grave."—Warburton, vol. i., p. 322.

† In Hudson's examination before Henry Dawson, Esq., deputy-mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne, taken *circa* May, 1646, touching the king's escape from Oxford, he deposed (8) that after their departure from Whisthamstead, near St. Alban's, his Majesty went thence 'to a place within seven miles from Newmarket, being a little villiage; and lodged in a common inn.'"—Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa" (edit. 1779), lib. ix., No. xii., p. 350.

husbandry and common administration of justice to the people. In the beginning of the Parliament, he served as a knight of the shire for Wiltshire, where he lived; and behaving himself with less violence in the House of Commons than many of his own friends did, and having a great friendship for the Earl of Strafford, he was, by his interposition, called to the House of Peers; where he carried himself very well in all things relating to the crown; and when the king went to York, he left the Parliament, and followed his Majesty, and remained firm to his fidelity."—Clarendon, Book vi., p. 392.

Five years and three months elapsed ere the fugitive sovereign again occupied this royal *villa venatica*. On the 22nd of December, 1646, the House of Lords voted that he should be allowed to reside at Newmarket;* but the Commons refused their consent; and ultimately both Houses fixed on Holmby, in the vicinity of Northampton. During his captivity at Holmby, the king divided his time between his studies and amusements. A considerable part of the day he spent in his closet, the rest in playing at bowls or riding in the neighbourhood. He was strictly watched; and, without an order from the Parliament, no access could be obtained to the royal presence. Thus the time passed till the 4th of

* "The Vote concerning the King's Person was read; and was *in hæc verba;* viz. '*Die*, etc. That the King being now in *England*, it is *Resolved*, by the Lords and in Parliament assembled, That he may come to *Newmarket;* there to remain, with such Attendants about him as both Houses of Parliament shall appoint, with respect had to the Safety and Preservation of his Person, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; And then the two Kingdoms are mutually to confer and determine, What is necessary for the common Peace; reserving to each their Rights of Exercise of their respective Interests, in providing for their respective Securities.'"—"Journals of the House of Commons," vol. v., p. 25 (Decr. 22, 1646).

June, 1647, when Charles was removed from Holmby. He rode that day as far as Hichinbrook House, and afterwards proceeded to Childerley,* near Cambridge.

The Earl of Leicester gives the following version of the king's removal from Holmby to Newmarket,

1647. June 4, 1647:—"On *Thursday*, at night the 3d of *June*, Joyce came to the bed-chamber doore, the King being in bed, and told some of the wayters, that the King must presently be gone; they told him that the King was layd to rest, and desired him not to disquiet his Majestye. He answered, that he had orders to remove the King, and that therefore he must go in. The King, hearing a noyse, rose out of his bed, putt on his breeches, came to the doore, and asked what the matter was. The doore bing opened, Joyce went in and desyred the King to make himself ready to remove. The King sayd, he was there by the order of Parlement, & would not remove; requiring Joyce also to tell him what warrant he had. Joyce replied, that he had his warrant in his sword, and that he would answer what he did; and told the King, that his Majestye must go betimes in the morning. So there being no remedy, the King went with them, who brought him to New-

* "*Childerley*, where in ancient Times lived a Family of the Name of *Hore*. *John Hore*, Esq.; who was Sheriff of this County and *Huntingdonshire*, 4 *Henry VI.*, and Member of Parliament for *Cambridgeshire* 3 Henry VI. resided here. From this Family the Lordship came to the *Cutt's*, who have had a Seat here a long Time: for Sir *John Cutts* was Sheriff 3 Henry VIII. whose Descendant *John Cutts* Esqr; was created Baronet June 21, 1660. The late Lord *Cutts*, Baron of *Gowran* in *Ireland*, and one of the Justices of that Kingdom, was a collateral Branch of this Family, and possessed the Estate here, but sold it."—Camden, "Magna Britannica," The Savoy, edit. 1720, vol. i., p. 253.

market, or to some house thereabouts, on *Friday*. It is sayd, that they gave the King his choise of Oxford, Audley-End, or Newmarket, to go unto, and it seems his Majestye chose Newmarket." *

At the close of the civil war the king was removed from the house of Lady Cutts, of Childerley, to Newmarket on the 9th of June, 1647, and remained at Newmarket about ten days.† In conducting him from Childerley to Newmarket, the Roundheads took him by way of Trumpington, to avoid passing through Cambridge, the townspeople having testified a disposition to show him respect; flowers were strewn before him as he passed along.‡ 1647.

At Newmarket the king experienced a greater degree of freedom and kindness than had hitherto been his lot. He was allowed to take exercise on the Heath, either in his coach or on horseback; his friends and chaplains were permitted to attend him without restriction; and he was treated generally by the officers of the army, not only with civility, but with respect.§ He dined in public, as in former days; his presence-chamber was thronged with the neighbouring gentry; and when he went abroad he was received with loud acclamations by the people.‖ Sir Philip Meadows, who was at Newmarket at this time, assured Lord Dartmouth that the only cheerful countenance he had seen in the place June.

* "Journals," p. 22; "Hist. MMS. Coss.," Rep. vii., App., p. 183 *a*.

† Lewis, "Topographical Dictionary of England and Wales," vol. iii., p. 367. London, 1831. Whitelocke's "Memoirs," p. 257.

‡ Sanderson, "Life of King Charles I.," p. 986.

§ "History of the Rebellion," vol. v., p. 443.

‖ Herbert, "Memoirs," p. 38.

was that of Charles I.* Indeed, another writer, who was present at Newmarket during this compulsory sojourn and last visit of the king there, remarked that "such a sudden change was made in the condition of the king, as to his liberty and honour, that most of his party was dazeled with the show of it."† He was allowed to make excursions without let or hindrance in the vicinity of the town, and enjoyed many a bout at bowls at Chippenham with his friend Sir William Russell.‡

Such was the last sojourn of Charles I. at Newmarket. The rendezvous of the army on the heath, the extraordinary defiance to Parliament, the arrival of Cromwell, the march to London with the captive monarch, the king's escape from Hampton Court, his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight, his trial, condemnation, and death, are too well known to call for any notice at our hands.

Charles I.—second son of James I. and Anne of Denmark—was born in Scotland, December 30, 1600. He succeeded to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland on the death of his father, March 27, 1625, and on June 16 following he married Henrietta Maria of France. The end of the "Martyred Monarch" is probably one of the most generally known incidents in the history of the kings and queens of England. Our greatest delineator of "household words" portrays a certain character who never could get the tragic end of the unfortunate Charles Stuart out of his head.

All students of history are more or less acquainted with the prominent political and polemical events of Charles I.'s reign;

* Burnet, "History of his own Times," vol. i., p. 86, note.

† "Flagellum," by S. T. Gent, London, 1663, p. 50.

‡ See *post*, p. 59.

they are recorded by all the historians who have written of those times. With such matters we have very little to do. It is not within our province to advert to any of these transactions, save those, hitherto recorded, which happened during the sojourns of the king and his ministers at Newmarket. Hence our memoir of Charles I. must necessarily be confined to the royal sportsman rather than to the royal sovereign. We only wish to see him divested of the purple, in the apparel of one of Diana's votaries, amongst his subjects in the hunting-field or upon the Turf, on and under which, we are told by a late lamented statesman, "all men are equal"—a sentiment Charles I. or any of *his* ministers would construe to be treason without benefit of clergy. Brought up in a court corrupt and venal, where his father was fooled to the top of his bent by canny, vulgar, and rapacious sycophants, the boy Charles could not escape the contagion which ultimately carried off the royal constitution on the memorable last day of January, 1649. Even in our fitful glances of the court of the British Solomon at Newmarket we have seen how the baneful effects of "the right divine to govern wrong" must have undermined the common sense of the young heir to the throne.

But let us turn from these sad reflections to more cogent matters, wherein Charles is exhibited in his true colours. When only a kid—if such a plebeian Whitechapel phrase may be applied to a royal Whitehall prince (but let it pass, as "slumming" is just now all the fashion, by royal will and favour)—he wrote, on one occasion, to his big brother, that, in his absence, he rode his great horses and kept his hares well exercised. Under St. Anthony the prince soon became proficient in all the mysteries of the *manège*, and eventually proved himself a worthy pupil of so great a master of equestrian art. On the death of Prince Henry, Charles came to the front as heir-apparent, and from this time we find him at the head of a large hunting establishment, almost rivalling in its dimensions that of his father. The prince was passionately addicted to field sports. He rode well, but not gracefully, and took great interest in horse-breeding. We have seen how and under what circumstances he first entered the lists as a

tilter; how he gave up the pleasurable associations incident to a Newmarket Spring Meeting in order to properly train for the occasion; what renown he achieved on his first appearance among the most celebrated horsemen of the time, in an arena where royal blood was entitled to no allowance, for, sooth to say, here all comers met upon a fair field without fear, favour, and no hope or reward, save those bays, the attribute of Mars, and the applause of the girl we love best—truly a sufficient inducement to make every chevalier do his *devoir*. We have seen how the prince passed the trying ordeal with flying colours, and how the honours he bore away on the occasion were recorded by Camden in "the cradle of antiquity," to live for evermore. Later on, we have also seen the young prince setting forth from Newmarket on that pilgrimage of love, where duty called and beauty led the way, and witnessed the sequel, which proved that the course of true love (in those days), with princes as with plebs, did not always run smooth. In these days, however, some princes, under the special protection of absurd marriage laws, are impervious to Cupid's bow and all the arrows in his quiver; nay, they can shatter the precept of the divine William, and prove that in order to do this, among other purposes, they were created.

The outcome of the abortive Spanish match nevertheless resulted in the importation to England of some of the best strains of equine Eastern blood which it was possible to obtain through the all-powerful interest of the court of Madrid. About this period the number of horses of Eastern descent brought into England was considerable; indeed, they were imported by the shipload. Such acquisition doubtless led to salutary results, as the improvement in the equine race was a notable circumstance immediately subsequent to this epoch; and to the prince we are indebted for that result. Charles, soon after these incidents, ascended the throne, and we shall presently have to describe the dispersal of the magnificent stud he had found at Tutbury. Unhappily, we now lose sight of nearly all the fine qualities he evinced in his youth: Buckingham fooled the son as he fooled the father, and Charles

soon becomes a pliant tool in the hands of the dictator. We have seen the new king breaking his engagement and foregoing a previously arranged visit to Newmarket, because Buckingham—dreading his ultimate fate—did not think that place safe enough for *him*. And, after Buckingham fell beneath the hand of an assassin, other ministers of poor capacity and less suavity succeeded, all pandering to the king's infatuity in enforcing "the right divine to govern wrong." Some of the best traits of Charles are exhibited during his sojourns at Newmarket, and these need no recapitulation here. Happy it would have been for him and all his belongings, and for the national sports to which he was ardently addicted, if we had more of them to mention in lieu of political and polemical subjects, of which, alas! there are too many. Hence our task here abruptly ends; and we have only to quote, in conclusion, Sir Philip Warwick's personal character of Charles I., who says, "His exercises were manly; for he rid the great horse very well; and on the little saddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter and field-man: And they were wont to say of him, that he failed not to do any of his exercises artificially, like some proportion'd faces, which yet want a pleasant air of countenance."

As every particle of information relating to the last sad visit of Charles I. to Newmarket is particularly interesting, we append the following additional details from the original correspondence:— 1647.

"*The Commissioners attending the King to the Speaker.*

"SIR—We received yesterday the votes of both houses concerning his majesty's removal from hence to Richmond.

"We immediately acquainted the General therewith, by letter from ourselves; and there is a messenger from us now attending for his answer, which is not yet come to us. We also acquainted colonel Whalley, who commands the parliament guards here, with the said votes, desiring to know of him whether he had received any order therein from the

General, how far he would assist us, or whether we were to expect any interruption from him. He told us that, it concerning the king, it was civil to acquaint him therewith, and after gave us this answer: that the king (the votes not being directed to him) would say nothing until the addresses were made to his majesty; and the General's pleasure being no way made known to him, he could not, for the present, give us any further satisfaction. This is all the account we can give you of our proceedings in this business, but shall not be wanting in our endeavours to discharge the trust reposed in us; being, besides the duty that therein lies upon us, much encouraged by the acceptance of our service, and the care you have pleased to express of us, in your letter of the 17th instant, which came to our hands this morning; and whereby we are obliged to remain

"Your most humble servants,

"JOHN COKE.
"JO. CREWE.
"RICHARD BROWNE.
"RO. BARCLAY.

"Newmarket, June 18, 1647.

"*The same to the same.*

"SIR—This morning we received the inclosed from the General; colonel Hammond and colonel Lambert being arrived here last night. That which they gave us in answer to the letters we had written to his excellency concerning his majesty's remove to Richmond, according to the votes of both houses, is contained in the paper inclosed, which was, by our secretary, taken from themselves, and after assented to in our presence; which because it seemed not to express any thing concerning the king's person, in such a manner as your votes require, we desired they would give us a more particular answer thereunto. But they replied only, that we might have any such mistake rectified by a new letter to the General. For themselves, they had nothing else in commission to say unto us, unless perhaps colonel Whalley had some order therein.

"Hereupon we spake with colonel Whalley, who told us that he could not answer further until he knew the king's pleasure and the General's, having received no new orders.

"And we pressing for further satisfaction, he immediately went in to speak with the king about it, and his majesty was pleased to send for us also; where it being recited what had already passed betwixt us and the colonel, his majesty asked him, whether, if he declared his willingness to go to Richmond, he should not be by him hindered therein.

"Colonel Whalley replied, that when he knew his majesty's pleasure, he should forthwith acquaint the General; and believed that he might march thither, or to any other place he pleased.

"Then the king told us that there was not as yet an address made to him on this behalf by the houses, and it concerned his honour not to be in such manner posted from place to place.

"We replied, that indeed we had no particular address at this time to his majesty from the parliament, but the letter, which we received with the late votes from the houses, did require us to take care to see them fully observed, as far in us lies; and since the answer we expected did depend on his majesty's consent, by virtue and in pursuance of the general power given us by both houses, we humbly took the liberty to make our address to him therein, his majesty having often declared his desire of being at some of his houses nearer the parliament.

"The king replied, that indeed he had often desired it of the houses, and would always keep his word; that he was very sensible of the present distractions, and, in hopes to further the composing of them, and to settle a happier peace in the kingdom, he would accept the addresses we made to him by authority from the houses, and dispense with that point of civility which was due in a more express and regular way, and which otherwise he would have stood upon; and then declared to colonel Whalley, that he would willingly go along with us to Richmond.

"The colonel desired his majesty to name the day, which

the king appointed to be on Thursday next; and colonel Whalley undertook to give the General a speedy account of his majesty's pleasure therein. We thought it also our duty to give you the present notice hereof, and to desire that the house at Richmond may be fitted for his majesty's accommodation; and further to acquaint you, that we have sent into Lincolnshire, to command that colonel Rossiter's regiment do attend upon this service, having some information that they are in those parts.

"But because we are told, that it is not known at the army where that regiment is, we hold it necessary to advertise you thereof, believing they will not be ready here by the time preferred for his majesty to remove.

"Thus hoping you will allow of what we have done in the premises for your service; we remain

"Your most humble servants,

"John Coke.

"Jo. Crewe.

"Richard Browne.

"Newmarket, June 20, 1647.

"*The same to the same.*

"Sir—We received your letters yesterday, by Sir Peter Killigrew, who arrived here at twelve of the clock. We forthwith delivered the letter from both houses to his majesty; who, having read it in our presence, told us, that it was a very fair and civil invitation; that he was glad of it, and confirmed thereby in his resolution of coming to Richmond, since he found the addresses we had made to him were according to the intention of the houses. We have this day sent part of his majesty's stuff from hence to Royston, the king having appointed to lodge there on Thursday night, and at Theobalds on Friday, with resolution to march thence, upon Saturday, to Richmond.

"Upon the orders we despatched to the commander, upon the place of colonel Rossiter's regiment, which were received by major Twisleton, near Grantham, upon Monday last, we

had the inclosed in answer from himself. Whereupon we have written to him to attend the king at Royston, upon Thursday night, without fail, as you may see by these our second orders, and a copy whereof we have here sent you. And being much encouraged by your approbation of our service to be diligent therein, we remain

"Your most humble servants,

"JOHN COKE.

"JO. CREWE.

"RICHARD BROWNE.

"Newmarket, June 23, 1647.

"*General Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker.*

"MR. SPEAKER,—By yours of the 17th June instant, I am commanded to render the charge of his majesty to the commissioners now attending his majesty at Newmarket. To which I humbly answer, that your commission have attended the person of the king ever since his coming from Holdenby, and have been by me desired to continue the discharge of their trust, which was committed to them by the parliament. Which that it might be the better performed, I gave them a guard of two regiments of horse, who do at this time attend the king and commissioners at Newmarket.

"I humbly conceive I have nothing else to answer to, as touching this matter. As to our removal to further distance from London, we entreat we may receive an answer to the desires of the army in the papers last we sent you, conceiving we shall neither give satisfaction to the kingdom nor the army, who are in expectation of some effect thereupon. . . .

"I remain your most humble servant,

"T. FAIRFAX.

"June 25, 1647."*

"June 21. Mr. *Peters* went to the King to *New-market*, and had much discourse with him.

"June 24. The Lords desired the Commons Consent to

* Carey's "Memorials," vol. i., pp. 241–263.

a Letter to the King, *That, by reason of some late Accidents, they humbly entreated his Majesty either to stay at* Royston, *or* Theobalds, *or to return to* Newmarket, to which the Commons Agreed.

"June 25. The King was unwilling to return to *Newmarket*, but stayed at *Royston*."—Whitelock's "Memorials," pp. 254, 255.

Chippenham Park (mentioned in the text, p. 51), lying to the left of the exercise ground on the "Bury side" of Newmarket, is well known to most frequenters of the head-quarters of the Turf. The manor, which had belonged in the reign of Edward the Confessor to Orgar the Sheriff, was granted by William the Conqueror to Gefforey de Mandeville; his son, William de Mandeville, gave it in the year 1184 to the Templars, who, in the reign of Henry III., procured a charter for a market on Mondays, and a fair for two days at Michaelmas, both of which were subsequently absorbed by the rise of Newmarket in that town, and have been discontinued beyond the memory of man. After the abolition of the order of Templars, this estate passed, with most of their landed property, to the Hospitallers, who established an infirmary at this place, and possessed the manor, until the general desolation of religious houses by Henry VIII., when it was granted in fee-farm, A.D. 1540, to Sir Edward North. Sir Thomas Kevett died seised of this manor in 1582, leaving no male issue. Alice, one of his daughters, married Thomas Gerard, Esq. (son of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Master of the Rolls), whose daughter, Elizabeth, brought it in marriage to Sir William Russell, Treasurer of the Navy, created a Baronet in 1628. When Charles I. was at Newmarket for the last time in June, 1647, his Majesty went over to Chippenham "to partake of the diversion of bowling"* at the seat of Sir William Russell, who seems to have retained his attachment to his royal master notwithstanding his son Sir Francis was an active friend of the Parliament, and a

* Cole MS., Brit. Mus. Quoted from a manuscript in the Library, Cambridge University, R. 10, 17–8.

double alliance had been formed between his family and the Cromwells; his grandson, Sir John, having married the Protector's youngest daughter, and one of his grand-daughters being married to the Protector's son Henry. Sir William Russell died in 1663, and was buried at Burwell; his son and grandson successively inherited the title, but enjoyed it only a short time, the latter dying in 1669. Sir William Russell, son and heir of Sir John, having ruined his fortune by raising troops at the Revolution, sold his estate at Chippenham to the brave Admiral Russell (nephew of William, Duke of Bedford), who for his splendid victory at La Hogue, was created Baron Shengay and Earl of Orford. The noble admiral built a fine mansion at Chippenham, where he entertained George I. during his Ma'esty's visit to Newmarket races, on the 4th of October, 1717; by his will, dated 1729, he bequeathed his estate at Chippenham to his niece, Lady Tipping, whose daughter and heir married Samuel Sandys, Esq., of Ombersley, in Worcestershire. Mr. Sandys was created a peer in 1743. A few years afterwards he sold his estate at Chippenham, which, by successive purchases, has been the property of Crisp Molineux, Esq., George Montgomery, Esq., and Drummond Smith, Esq., from whom John Thorp, Esq., great-grandfather of the present proprietor, bought it in 1790. The mansion erected at Chippenham by Lord Orford was pulled down in 1780, and the materials sold, when Mr. Smith constructed a *villa venatica* on the site of that mansion; this has been recently demolished by Montagu Thorp, Esq., the present popular lord of the manor, who is now putting up a new house, "replete with all modern improvements."

The visit of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to Chippenham Park, in May, 1669, is thus described by his Serene Highness's remembrancer:—

"With a view of enjoying the beauty of the country during the fine weather, his highness went with his attendants on the morning of the 10th, from Newmarket to Chippenham, a country-seat of Sir John Russell, of the family of the Earls of Bedford, who is married to my Lady Frances

Cromwell, daughter of the late Protector Oliver Cromwell, and sister to the wife of my Lord Thomas Bellasyse, Baron Fauconberg. The lady was first married to the nephew of my Lord Charles Rich, Earl of Warwick, by whom she had no children, he having died shortly after his marriage; by her second husband she has three children, one son and two daughters. This villa stands in a delightful plain, in the midst of a lawn, which surrounds it on every side; and both with respect to the materials of which it is built, the ornaments with which it is decorated, and the arrangement of its domestic conveniences, it will bear a comparison with the most distinguished country seats of the principal gentry of the kingdom; on this account, my Lord James Howard, Earl of Suffolk, has been induced by its situation, by the magnificence of the edifice, and by its vicinity to Newmarket, to purchase it for the sum of twelve thousand pounds; but till the actual payment of the money, the seller retains the proprietorship and possession. In the lawn belonging to the villa is a place set apart for bowls, where his highness and the Earl of Thomond played a few games, previous to viewing the mansion; his highness afterwards went over all the apartments, and found them handsomely furnished, according to the custom of the country. Amongst other things that the house contains, the gallery, which faces the South, is not the least remarkable; for, besides the view which it commands from its windows, there is upon the top of it an open promenade, that, being connected with the roof of the house, which is covered with lead, affords on every side a prospect of the surrounding country. His highness had the curiosity to ascend thither, to view through a telescope the city of Ely, and its cathedral church, which is a most magnificent and conspicuous building. From the upper apartments, his highness descended to a spacious room on the ground-floor, and there found the wife and sister of Sir — Russell, the master of the house, who paid their compliments to him, to which his highness replied with the greatest politeness; and seats having been prepared, he sate down, and continued his conversation (in the French language only) with the Lady Cromwell, giving her the place

of honour. While they were thus engaged, she presented her two children, one male and the other female, to his highness, who received them with great affability and kindness. As it was near noon, his highness took his leave, and returned by the way of Newmarket."

BOOK VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES AT NEWMARKET FROM 1626 TO 1653.

Newmarket Palace—Cost of works and buildings—The materials used and the workmen employed there during the reign of Charles I. —Survey and sale of the palace and the new warren in 1650—Description of the palace and its appurtenances at this time—And the new warren—Are sold to Tobias Bridge for £1722—Copy of the survey and conveyance—Swaffham-Bulbeck—Burrough Green—Hare Park—1628. Thomas Lovett appointed keeper of the palace and gardens—Rowland Roberts appointed keeper of the royal wardrobe—His duties and emoluments—Captain Wood resigns his office of gamekeeper at Newmarket—Obtains a pension of £60 a year—1631. Royal licence to the Funstons to keep a tavern and wine-cellar in Newmarket—Curious conditions—The variety and prices of the wines on sale—Legislation thereon—The Spring Meeting of 1634—The Gold Cup—Losses on the race—*The Earl of Southampton*—The course and stand *temp.* Charles I.—Lord Conway's expenses at Newmarket—Kennet Warren—Charles I. and Lord Petre—Fricklam Warren—Kennet—Alleged robbery on the Heath—Landowners and householders in Newmarket in 1627-1640 —The taxation—Description of the town and vicinity of Newmarket in 1637—The inquisition of 1638—The only Royalist householder in the town in 1646—Fined £60 by the Parliamentary sequestrators—Copy of the proceedings thereon—The Devil's Ditch—Rendezvous of the army on the Heath in 1647—Its object—And result—Action of Oliver Cromwell thereon—Occurrences at Newmarket during the interregnum—A sailor murdered on the Heath—Horses for the use of the judges on the Norwich circuit—Colonel Wharton's regiment quartered at Newmarket—The Great Fire of 1653—The town in ruins—The inhabitants petition Parliament for relief—Referred to a

committee—Colonel Rous brings up the report—Collections ordered for relief of the inhabitants—Further proceedings in Parliament thereon—Benefactions and doles left by benevolent persons to the poor of Newmarket—The bequests—What has become of them?

THE earliest account, in the reign of Charles I., of money expended upon works and buildings at the royal palace at Newmarket, occurs in the year 1626–1627, when the bill came to £229 7*s*. Among the materials used were deals, deal boards, paving tiles, plain tiles, tar, lime, sand, hair, solder, etc., to the value of £110 15*s*. 10½*d*. Bricklayers were paid from 1*s*. 10*d*. to 1*s*. 2*d*.; plumbers, 1*s*. 10*d*.; plasterers, 1*s*. 10*d*.; mat-layers, 1*s*. 10*d*.; labourers, 1*s*. 2*d*. to 7*d*. a day; and the clerk of the works and the purveyor had 1*s*. 8*d*. each daily, exclusive of horse hire and travelling expenses.

Charles I. Newmarket. The Royal Palace. 1626–1639. 1626–1627.

The bill for 1627–1628 amounts to £113 16*s*. 3½*d*. for black touch stones "for the hazard in the tennis court and new paveing and blacking the walls, peires and butresses of the same;" planking the king's stables; rematting and mending the mats in the privy lodgings; tileing over the dormer windows and other parts over the Prince's [Charles II.] new buildings, etc., etc.; workmen's wages, carriage, etc., make up the total above mentioned.

1627–28.

Only £28 7*s*. 9½*d*. was laid out on the palace during the following year for twenty-two pounds of solder at 10*d*. per pound, two load of sand at 1*s*. a load; candles and rosin, 9*d*.; mending and putting ironwork round the pump, 3*s*.

1628–29.

Glass and glazing came to £16 1*s.* 7*d.* Workmen's wages, etc., were at the same rates per diem as appears in the first of these accounts.

1629–30. For the year 1629–1630, the sum of £169 17*s.* 5*d.* was expended on the works and building in mending the racks, stalls, mangers, walls, and planks in the stables. The floor of the tennis court was repaired, and the walls painted; mending the pales of the dog-yard, and other works; the materials used, etc., are duly set forth, but call for no comment.

1630–31. In the ensuing year's account, which amounts to £321 2*s.* 5*d.*, there was a good deal of timber used. Paving tiles cost 20*s.* a thousand; lime, 8*s.* 10*d.* the chaldron; sand, 3*d.*, and gravel, 8*d.*, the load; thirty-one "bzes" of sea-coals, at 8*d.* the "bzes" [qy. bushels], cost £1 2*s.* 8*d.*; charcoal cost 1*s.* the "bzes;" four score candles, weighing thirty-three pounds, at 5*d.* the pound, came to 13*s.* 9*d.* Straw was purchased at 6*d.* the truss; wax at 16*d.* per pound; two buckets cost 2*s.* 6*d.* each. Glass and glazing, as usual, was a heavy item, and amounted to £38 17*s.* 5*d.*

1631–32. £135 16*s.* 6½*d.* was spent on repairs, etc., at the palace for the year 1631–1632, including the cost of mending the planks, stalls, racks, and mangers in the king's hunting-horse stable, and the ordinary stable of the Master of the Horse. The king and queen's and the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings were also renovated. A new sewer, leading from the court to the street, was constructed. The

part of the palace fronting the street was fenced with posts and rails. An altar was erected in the queen's chapel, which was likewise provided with pews (*Anglicè* stools). Her Majesty's presence-chamber was, on one occasion, fitted up "for a comedy to be acted there." New mats were put down in the privy lodgings, and in "divers noblemen's lodgings," and sundry other works are mentioned which we have no space to recapitulate in detail.

1632-1633.

The next year's accounts only amounted to £96 4*s.* 7½*d.*, and is made up with small items of a miscellaneous nature, from the cost of blacking the tennis court to buying a rope for the well.

1633-1634.

In 1633–1634 the sum of £165 17*s.* 5*d.* was expended on the works and buildings of the royal establishment at Newmarket. The glass windows of the tennis court were protected with wirework, and 6*d.* was now spent on the purchase of wire to repair that work. The entire amount charged in this account consists of "small necessaries" which are unnecessary to reproduce here.

1634-1638.

The bill for the following year only came to the modest sum of £63 18*s.* 7½*d.*; that of 1635–1636 to £87 13*s.* 3*d.*; and that of 1636–1637 to £91 9*s.* 1*d.* In 1637–1638 the sum expended on the palace was £121 15*s.* 10½*d.*, for (*inter alia*) oak timber and boards, joists, planks, solder, mats, pack thread, tiles, lime, laths, sand and gravel, nails, ironwork, glass and glazing, buckets and

pails, wood, turf, and fuel for the plumbers; straw for thatching, binding rods, etc., sundry other "small necessaries" used in these works, with workmen's wages: masons at 2*s.* 6*d.*, carpenters at 16*d.* and 18*d.*, bricklayers at 16*d.*, matlayers, plumbers, and thatchers, at 22*d.*, and labourers at 10*d.* and 7*d.* a day, make up the sum total at foot of this account.

1638–1639.

The final account in the Record Office series of money expended in works and buildings at the palace of Newmarket, is that for the year 1638–1639, which is the smallest in the collection. It amounts to £23 19*s.* 5*d.*, of which £9 10*s.* 4*d.* was spent on the purchase of lime, sand, straw, buckets, nails of several sorts, tiles, boards, thatching spits, ironwork, hanging locks, glass, and glazing; the remainder being charged to carriage and workmen's wages. From this date to 1660–1661, with the exception of the years 1644–1645 (in which there is no account of the Newmarket palace), there are no accounts of the public works and buildings in the Record Office series. They are, however, resumed in 1660, from which period they extend to *temp.* George III.

From the yearly accounts of works and buildings, as here summarized, it appears that the aggregate amount expended on the palace of Newmarket during the reign of Charles I. was £1527 9*s.* 10½*d.* Nothing is known of it during the Interregnum, beyond the fact of its having been dilapidated, almost razed from its foundations by the ruthless Roundheads.*

* L.T.R. Works and Buildings, Nos. 64–86, MS., P.R.O.

In the meantime, however, the palace was surveyed, preparatory to the sale, by order of Parliament, of the manors, honours, and lands of "Charles Stuart, late King of England, his queen, and the Prince of Wales." 1650. According to this survey (which was made in March, 1650), the palace then consisted of the king's lodgings, the tennis court, the kitchen, the long gallery, with the office therein, the prince's lodgings, the keeper's lodgings, the pastery, the buttery, and the wardrobe; the prince's kitchen, the stables, the barns, the riding house, the kennels, the clerk of works offices, etc.; the six-acre paddock, the closes, the coach-houses, the brew-houses, the gardens, etc. Certain auxiliary premises are mentioned and known by the sign of the Greyhound. The new warren, otherwise Hare Park, contained thirty-four acres, all of which were valued at £123 yearly, and on the 8th of April, 1640, the whole property was sold to Tobias Bridge, of London, for £1722, as appears in detail from the annexed transcript of the survey and contract of sale.*

"New-Market Court House with the Severall Ediffices and appurtennes in the County of Cambridge, is Vallued in,

Com Cantabr'. Parcell of the possessions of Charles Stewart, late King of England.

All that Capitall Messauge, Mansion-house, or

* Augmentation Office, "Cambridgeshire, Newmarket House with several other Edifices and Lands; C. 11," MS., P.R.O.

Court house, commonly called or knowne by the name of

Turf. Charles I. Interr. 1650. Newmarket. The Palace.

New-Markett-house wth thappurten'nes seytuate lyeing & being in the Towne & Parish of New-Markett in the County of Cambridge, herein after particularly menc'oned & expressed (That is to say) All that Brickbuilding com-

The King's Lodgings.

monly called the King's Lodgings adjoining to a Tennis Court herein after menc'oned conteyning by estima'con fourscore foote & in breadth thirty & eight feete bee the same more or lesse & one

The Gardens.

small Garden lyeing & being on the South-side of the said Edifice, inclosed wth a Wall thereonto belonging, conteyning by estima'con one Road more or lesse. And all that Brickbuilding

The Tennis Court.

commonly called the Tennis Court, & two other small Brickbuildings equall therew^th^ & seytuate at the North & South Ends thereof conteyning together & in the whole by estima'con in length one hundred & twenty foote & in breadth Thirty & six foote, bee the same more or lesse. And all

The Kitchen.

that old Building erected partly wth Brick & partly wth Tymber commonly called the Kinges Kitchin, conteyning by estima'con in length Forty foote, & in breadth twenty & eight foote more or lesse, the said Ediffice or Kitchin standing distant from all other Buildinges. And all that other Ediffice or Building erected wth Tymber commonly

The Long Gallery.

called the Long Gallery leading from that part of the said Capitall Messauge now or late called or knowne by the name of the Kinges Lodgings unto another parcell of the same Messauge

likewise called or knowne by the name of the Princes Lodgings towards the North conteyning by estima'con in length Threescore & twelve foote & in Breadth thirty & two foote more or lesse, Togeather wth divers Lodging Roomes & Offices seytuate & being vnder the same Ediffice or Gallery or the Roofe therevnto belonging. And also on the Westside of the said Gallery, one Range of Buildings conteyning divers lodging Roomes or Chambers both in the Lowermost & uppermost storyes thereof equall in Depth & Length wth the said Gallery, & devided by a Wall from the same. And all that Brick building commonly called the Princes Lodgings seytuate next the Street or Common highway of the abovesaid Towne of New-Markett conteyning by estima'con in length Threescore & ten foote & in breadth Forty & foure foote bee the same more or lesse. And all that Old Building heretofore erected wth Tymber adioyning to the said last men'coned, Ediffice called the Princes Lodgings seytuate also next the Common Street or Highway of the same Towne as aforesaid conteyning by estima'con in length Forty & foure foote & in breadth Twenty & six foote bee the same more or lesse, ℔'all of the same Ediffice now being in the occupa'con of Richard Grymes gent now or late keeper of the said Capitall Messauge or his Assignes. And all that Crosse old Tymberbuilding adioyning to the said Last men'coned Ediffice & extending itselfe in like manner wth the abovesaid Ediffice called the Kings

The Offices belonging to the Gallery.

(Cxxiiij^ti^.)

The Prince's Lodgings.

The Keeper's Lodgings.

(M. 2.)

The Pantry, Buttery, and Wardrobe.

Lodgings, being heretofore knowne by the severall names of the Pantry, Buttery & Wardrobe conteyning by estima'con in length Fourscore & eight foote & in breadth sixteen foote bee the same more or lesse. And all that Bricke-Building with the Turrett thereuppon erected commonly called the Princes Kitchen conteyning equally by estima'con in length & breadth Twenty & foure foote bee the same more or lesse, Togeather wth on small Messauge or Tenement erected wth Tymber thereunto adioyning; Togeather also with the Scite of the said Capitall Messauge or Courthouse and p'misses wth their appurtenñces conteyning together wth the abovemen'coned Garden, by estima'con one Acre bee the same more or less, encompassed wth a Stone Wall on the West, South, & East parts thereof, & with the Common Street belonging to the said Towne of New-Markett as aforesaid on the North.

The Prince's Kitchen.

"And all those severall Howses, Ediffices, Buildings, Peeces, or Parcells of arrable Meadow or Pasture Land or Ground wth the Appurtenñs scytuate, leying & being in the said Towne & Parish of New-Markett in the County of Cambridge now or late belonging to ye said Capitall Messauge or Courthouse or therewith vsed or enioyed wth their appurtanñs herein after particularly men'coned & expressed (That is to say) All that old decayed Stable heretofore erected wth Tymber conteyning by estima'con in length one hundred thirty and two foote & in breadth sixteen foote more or lesse, wth two sew'all old decayed Barnes conteyning togeather by

The Stables.

The Barns.

estima'con in length four score & tenn foote & in breadth eighteen foote bee the same more or lesse, abutting uppon the Churchyard belonging to the said Towne on the North & South. And all that new Brickbuilding or Ediffice the Lower part whereof hath bin vsed as stables for the greathorse & the vpper part thereof conteyneth divers square Chambers & Garretts conteyning by estima'con in length one hundred & sixteen foote & in breadth Forty foot bee the same more or lesse. And all that Ediffice or Building heretofore erected wth Tymber commonly called the Rydīg howse conteyning by estima'con in length one hundred & foure foote & in breadth thirty and six foote more or lesse. And all that Brickbuilding commonly called the Dogghouse, & one Brickstable, wth a Garden thereunto adioyning & belonging, conteyning by estima'con one Rood more or lesse, the said Ediffice called the Dogghouse conteyning by estima'con in breadth twenty & eight foote, and in length forty and foure foote bee the same more or lesse, all & every the same premisses being enclosed wth a Pale & Stonewall. And all that Brickbuilding and Tenement commonly called or known by the name of the Clerke of the Workes house conteyning by estima'con in length thirty & two foote & in breadth twenty and eight foot be the same more or lesse, & in one stable therevnto belonging conteyning by estima'con in length Twenty foote & in breadth Fourteen foote bee the same more or lesse, the said Stable being

The Stables for the great horses.

The Riding-house.

(M. 3.)

The Kennels.

The Clerk of Works offices, Garden, and Stable.

wholly erected wth Tymber; And also two Garden plotts therevnto belonging inclosed in a Stone-Wall & conteyning togeather by estima'con Three Roods more or lesse. And all that peece or parcell of arrable Land lying & being on the West side of the said Tennement or Ediffice called the Clerke of the Workes house & therevnto adioyning & inclosed conteyning by estima'con foure Acres bee the same more or lesse.

"And all those two severall peeces or parcells of Pasture ground wth the severall Walkes & appurtenñces therevnto lyeing & being on the Southside of the Church belonging to the said Towne of New-Market conteyning by estima'con six Acres bee the same more or lesse. All and every the said Last men'coned severall Howses Ediffaces, Buildings & peeces or parcells of meadow or pasture ground wth their appurtanñces men'coned to bee now or Late part or Pcell of the said Capitall Messauge or Courthouse of New-Market as aforesaid being seytuate in & vppon severall Places & Parts w^th^in the Lands before men'coned commonly called & knowne by the name or names of the Kings Closes, belonging & neare adioyning to the Backpart or Side of the said Capitall Messauge or Courthouse towards ye South being sev'ed & devided from the same Capitall Messauge & appurtannes by the Common Street or hig'way wth the Church and Churchyard of the Towne of New-Market aforesaid on the South, Together wth the Scite of the said Last men'cond Ediffices conteyning in the wholl as aforesaid by estima'con elaven

The six-acre Paddock.

The Closes.

Acres bee the same more or lesse. And all those severall Ediffices & ꝑrcll or ꝑcells of Pasture ground wth their appurtenñcs Seytuate lyeing & being in the severall parrishes of New-Markett, Swasham, Bulbecke, & Barrow Greene in ye said County of Cambridge & now or late belonging to the said Capitall Messauge or Courthouse or therew^th^ vsed & enioyed herein after particularly men'coned & expressed (That is to say) All that Stone Building or Ediffice Seytuate on the Backpart or Side of a Messauge or Tenement called or knowne by the name or signe of the Grey-hound w^th^in the Towne and parish of New-Markett aforesaid towards the south lyeing & beeing vnder two distinct Roofes, together wth a certayne peece or parcell of ground to the said Ediffice or Brewhowse belonging, conteyning by estima'con one halfe Acre, bee the same more or lesse. And all that Brickbuilding or Ediffice commonly called or knowne by the name of the Coach house parcell thereof being vsed as a Smithes Forge now in the possession or occupa'con of one John Read or his Assignes conteyning by estima'con in the whole Fifty & Six foote, and in breadth twenty foote bee the same more or lesse. All & every the said Brewhowse & Coachhowse wth their appurtenñcs Standing distinctly & severed from the rest of the said buildings, bounded wth the said Messauge or Tenem^t^ called the Greyhound on the North, & wth the Lands in the tennure or occupa'con of Jeremy Gawen or his Assignes on the South, conteyning togeather & in the

The Grey-hound.

(M. 4.)

The Coach-houses.

The Brew-house and Coach-house belonging to the Grey-hound.

wholl by estima'con one Acre bee the same more or lesse. And all that parcell or several parcells of Pasture ground wth thappurtenñces lyeing & being vppon the Common Heath called New-Markett Heath w^th^in the severall parrishes of Swasham, Bulbocke & Burrow Greene in the said County of Cambridge, commonly called or known by the name of Hare Parke as the same was heretofore inclosed conteyning in the whole by estima'con Thirty & foure Acres bee the same more or lesse. Thirty acres parcell thereof being now in the occupation of Ambrose Mortlocke, And the other four Acres residue thereof being now in the occupa'con of Thomas Rennowe, their or one of their Assignee or Assignes. Together wth all Houses Outhouses Ediffices Buildings Barnes Stables Orchards Gardens Courts Yards Backsides Tadygraunds Wayes Wartercourses Easements Proffits Priviledges Lebertyes Imunityes Emoluments Hereditaments & Appurtenñces whatsoev'r to the said Capitall Messauge, Mansion Howse or Court-howse, & sevall Howses Ediffaces Buildings Peeces or Parcells of arrable Meadow or Pasture Land or Ground w^th^ . . . their & every or any of their appurtenñces belonging or in any wise apperteyning, Or accepted reputed or knowne to bee parcell or member of the same, Vallued at the yearly Rent or some of Cxxiij^li^.

Hare Park.

"Memorandum that all & every the said before men'coned premisses are in the present possession of the State. (M. 5.)

"Reprizes :

"Memorandum it is certifyed by the Survey, that

one Thomas Hyde of the Towne of Royston in the said County of Cambridge Gent claymeth the office of Wardrobe-Keeper by and vnder certayne Letters Pattents bearing date the day of in the third year of the late King Charles during the naturall life of him the said Thomas in both the severall Capitall Messauges of New-Markett & Royston wth an annuall sallary therevnto belonging, & also a certayne yearly allowance for Brooms & Brushes, Togeather wth the some of Foure pounds by the yeare for a Livery.

The Ward-robe Keeper, his wages & emoluments.

"MEMORANDUM it is likewise certified by the said Survey y^t^ the Surveyors have contracted wth the above named Ambrose Mortlocke for his enioyment of the above said Thirty Acres of Land more or Lesse, parcell of the said Hare-Parke now in his owne occupa'con, at & vnder the yearly Rent of Six Pounds, for one wholl yeare comenceing from the feast day of the Berth of our Saviour Christ last past And Payable on the sev'all feast days of the nativity of St. John Baptist & the birth of our Saviour Christ Anno Dm̃. 1650 by equall porc'ons.

Hare Park: 30 acres let to Ambrose Mort-locke at £6 yearly.

"THIS PARTICULER is grounded vppon a Survey taken by Thomas Fowles & others in the Moneth of March last, and is made forth examined & signed by Order of the Contracto^rs^ dated the five & twentieth day of March Anno Dm̃. 1650./

The Survey.

JOHN WHEATLEY Dep^t^ Reg^tr^.

Contracted for ye The P^rmisses above mentioned

8th Aprill 1650. are Contracted for and agreed to be sold vnto Tobias Bridge of London, esqr on the behalfe of himselfe and other originall Creditors by whome he is sufficiently Authorized.

The sale, etc.

"This particular at ye desire & by & wth the Consent of ye said Tobias Bridge is rated in Fee-symple For John Oakey of Hackney in ye County of Midd'. esqr ye said Tobias Bridge Wm Neale of Newpart Pannell in ye County of Bucks esqr Francis Freeman of Mallborough in ye County of Willts esqr Christopher Merser of London esqr Richard Caster of the City of Gloucester esqr and John Haberow of Walton in the County of Surrey esqr at fourteen years purchase for the present yearly value of the Capitall Messauge Mansion house or Court house with ye app'rts. Commonly called New-Markett house situate in the parish of New Markett and County of Cambridge wth the scite and app'rts thereof in the present possession of the State, and for ye ℙ'sent yeerely value; of certeyne ℙ'cells of pasture grounds lying and being vpon ye Common Heath called New markett Heath in ye severall parishes of Swaftham Bulbock and Barrow Greene in ye County aforesaid commonly called the Hare parke Conteyning by estima'con Thirty foure acres more or lesse, being together one hundred Twenty three pounds in possession According to wch rates and values the purchase money payable and to be paid for the premises Amounts unto the Sume of one Thousand seven hundred Twenty two pounds.

Capitalized at £1722 = 14 years' purchase on rental of £123 ℙ an.

"WHEREOF,

"The one full Moity to be paid or defalked w^th^in eight weekes now next ensuing and the other Moity is to be paid or defalked w^th^in six moneths next after the first paym^t^ or defalka'con aforesaid for paym^t^ and satisfaction of wch said latter Moiety security is to be given to the Treas^rs^ by A Lease for Fourescore and Nyneteene yeares of the premises hereby Contracted for and ye whole purchase to be paid and satisfied either in ready money or in originall debentures Charged vpon the Credit of the acts of Parliam^t^ in y^t^ behalfe.

Terms of sale, etc.

(*Signed*) "JOHN WHEATLEY. Dep^t^ Reg^tr^.

"In Attestation of the Contract and agree^t^ above mentioned wee the Contractors whose names are subscribed have herevnto put o^r^ hands ye 21th of Octob^r^ 1650.

(*Signed*) "WILLIAM ROBERTS.
"RIC: SALTONSTALL.
"RI: SYDENHAM.
"JO: HUMFREY. JAMES STOCALL.

"Theise are to desire and Authorize the Trustees named and appointed in and by severall acts of Parliam^t^. for ye sale of ye Hono^rs^ and Lands heretofore belonging to ye late King Queene and Prince or any fiue or more of them to draw up and seale a Conveyance of the premisses above mentioned hereby Contracted for vnto the said John Oakey Tobias Bridge Wm Neale Frauncis Freeman Christopher

Mercer Richard Castle and John Haberow their heires and Assignes according to ye Contract and agreem^nt^ aboue mentioned To haue and to hold vnto the said John Oakey Tobias Bridge Wm Neale Francis Freeman Christopher Mercer Trustees or any of them by the said Acts or any of them are enabled to Convey the same discharged of all demands paym^ts^ Trusts Accompts and incombraunces as amply as is enacted and provided by the acts of Parliament aforesaid in that behalfe dated the 21th day of October 1650.

(*Signed*) "William Roberts
"Ric: Saltonstall
"Ri. Sydenham
"Jo. Humfrey

"These are to certifie ye said Trustees y^t^ this ℞ticular wth all ℞ceedings thereupon as it is thus finished is entered & Reg^t^ by mee ye 3^d^ of November 1651.

(*Signed*) "John Wheatly Dep^t^ Reg^r^"

Swaffham-Bulbeck lies about five miles west of Newmarket. A Benedictine nunnery was founded here, before the reign of John, by the Bulbeck family; at the time of its dissolution, in the reign of Henry VIII., it was occupied by a prioress and eight nuns: its revenues were then estimated at £40 per annum. In 1538, Henry VIII. gave the priory estate to the Bishop of Ely and his successors, in exchange for other lands. The manor of Swaffham-Bulbeck, which belonged at an early period to the family of Bulbeck, passed by a female heir to the Veres, Earls of Oxford, who possessed it for many generations. This manor, by the name of Michell-hall in Swaffham, subsequently passed to the Hammond

family, by inheritance from the Parkers. The manor of Burgh-hall took its name from the family of De Burgh, to which it belonged in the reign of Edward III. From the Burghs it passed by a female heir to the Ingoldesthorpes, and was afterwards successively in the Mordaurants and Alingtons. In the beginning of the present century it belonged to the Earl of Aylesbury, whose father acquired it in marriage with one of the daughters of Charles, Duke of Somerset.

BURGH, or BURROUGH-GREEN, lies about four miles south of Newmarket. Before the Norman Conquest the manor of Burgh belonged to Queen Editha, consort of St. Edward the Confessor, who had large possessions in Cambridgeshire; and as this is the only one of her manors where a deer park is described in Domesday Book, it is most probable that she had a palace here for her occasional residence. William the Conqueror gave this manor and the whole of Queen Editha's property in Cambridgeshire to Alan, Earl of Brittany. We next find it in the family of De Burgh, from whom it passed by a female heir to the Ingoldesthorpes, Elizabeth, 2nd daughter of John Nevill, Marquis Montagu, by Isabella, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Edmund Ingoldesthorpe, married to Thomas Lord Scrope, of Upsal, who died about the year 1491, having bequeathed the manor of Borrough-Green to his niece Lucy, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne. In 1521 we find it in the possession of Sir John Cutts; it was afterwards in the families of Cage and Singlesby. Early in the last century it became the property of Edward Russell, Earl of Oxford, who dying without issue in 1727, this manor appears to have been purchased of his representatives by Charles, Duke of Somerset; and subsequently passed to the Earl of Aylesbury, who acquired it in marriage with the duke's youngest daughter.

HARE PARK seems to have been located in DULLINGHAM Manor, about four miles south of Newmarket. When the Domesday survey was taken, the manor of Dullingham, which had formerly belonged to Algar, Earl of Mercia, was a parcel of the possessions of the abbot and convent of St. Wendrille, in Normandy. John, Duke of Bedford, died seised of the

manor of Poins Hall, which, from the reign of Henry III. to the middle of the reign of Edward III., had belonged to the family of Pointz, and the manor of Beauchamp Hall, which, for nearly the same period, had belonged to the Beauchamps of Somersetshire. These united estates, by the name of the manor of Dullingham, were given, on the attainder of John, Earl of Oxford, in the reign of Edward IV., to John Howard, who soon afterwards exchanged Dullingham with the crown for other estates; it was restored to the Earl of Oxford, who continued in possession in the reign of Henry VIII. As early as the year 1595 it was in the possession of the Wingfields, and they continued to possess it till 1656, when it was purchased by Col. John Jeaffreson, ancestor of John Jeaffreson, Esq., who resided in the manor house at the beginning of the present century. Another manor in Dullingham was granted in 1540 to Sir Edward North, who about five years afterwards surrendered it again to the crown. In the reign of James I. it was in the family of Peniston. It is probable that this has been united either to the last-mentioned manor or that of the rectory. The whole manorial property of the parish at the beginning of the present century belonged to Colonel Jeaffreson, whose ancestor, in 1733, purchased of the Edgar family an estate, described as the manor, rectory, and advowson of Dullingham. The rectory of Dullingham was before the Reformation parcel of the estates of the prior and convent of Thetford, and had been granted in 1539 to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. In the year 1535, Thomas Hildersham had a small manor in this parish called Matfereys, from the family of Matfery, who possessed lands in Dullingham in the reign of Edward I. About the beginning of the present century Earl Grosvenor built a handsome house at Hare Park, which he held on lease under Colonel Jeaffreson, and usually occupied it during the Newmarket meetings. It is now the property of C. W. Robinson, Esq., J.P., and occupied by the Duke of Hamilton, K.T., and his trainer, Dick March, who frequently (owing to topographical influences over which he has no control) plays the part of a March Hare [Park] for the edification of the Newmarket drag-hounds; and although he has been fre-

quently pounded, the latter have not yet succeeded in pulling him down in the open.

In October, 1628, Sir Robert Vernon having disposed of his office of Keeper of the Palace, appurtenances, and the garden at Newmarket, to Thomas Lovett, Esq., the appointment was sanctioned by the king in as full a manner as it had been held by his predecessor, as appears by the following copy of the royal grant:— 1628. Charles I. Newmarket.

"CHARLES by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &^c To o^r Right trustie and wellbeloued Councello^r Thomas Lord Coventry Keeper of o^r greate Seale of England Greeting. WEE will and comaund you that vnder o^r said greate Seale ye Cause o^r ℔res to be made forth patents in the forme following. CHARLES by ye grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland defender of the faith &^c To all to whome these presents shall come greeting. WHEREAS o^r late royall father King James of ever blessed memory deceased, by his highnes ℔res patents vnder his greate Seale of England bearing date the sixt day of December in the fourteenth yeare of his Raigne of England France and Ireland & of Scotland the ffiftie, dyd give and graunt vnto o^r welbeloued servant Sr Robert Vernon, knight, the office of Custodie and Keeping of his Highnes house at Newmarkett in the County of Cambridge, And him the said Sr Robert Vernon keeper of his late Ma^ts said house, and of the Stables Brewhouses and outhouse edifices backsides and grounds whatsoever, then built or from thenceforth to be built there and wch did then belong or should from thenceforth appertaine to his said house by the said ℔res patents did make ordaine and appoint TO HAUE hold and enioy the said office of Custodie and keeping of his said house at Newmarkett together wth the stables Brewhouses and outhouses and all other y^e ℙmisses to the said Sr Robert Vernon Kn^t during his naturall life together wth all the profitts and Co̅modities to the same belonging or in any wise apperteyning wth the wages and

fees of Twelue pence by ye day of lawfull money of England for the keeping of his late Maties said house. To haue and yearly to exercise the said fee of Twelvepence by the day to him the sayd Sr Robert Vernon knight & his assignes from the feast of the birth of our Lord God last past before the date thereof for and during the naturall life of him the sayd Sr Robert Vernon out of the Treasure of his highnes his heirs and successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer of his highnes his heires and successors by the handes of the Trẽr Vnder trer and other officers of his highnes his heires and successors for the time being, at two vsuall tearmes of ye yeare, at the feast of the birth of our Lord God, the nativity of St John Baptist halfe yearly by even porc̃ons to be paid, And further did give and graunt to the said Sr Robert Vernon the office of Keeper of his highnes Garden then late enclosed belonging to the said house, and of any other Garden that should or might from henceforth belong to the said house, To haue and to hold the said place of keeper of his highnes said garden together with all the premisses to him the said Sr Robert Vernon or to his sufficient Deputie or Deputies during his naturall life together wth the wages and fee of Twelue pence by the day for the keeping of the said Garden. To haue and yearely to receiue the said fee and wage of Twelvepence by the day to him the sayd Sr Robert Vernon and his assignes from the feast of the birth of our Lord God last past before the date of the said £res patents during his naturall life out of the treasure of his highnes his heires and successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer of his highnes his heires and successors by the handes of the Trẽr Vndertrẽr and other officers of his highnes his heires and successors for the time being at the feast of our Lord and the Nativity of St John Baptist halfe yearely by even porc̃ons to be paid as in and by the sayd £res patents may more at large appeare, And whereas the sayd Sr Robert Vernon hath by his humble petic̃on besought vs that wee would vouchsafe to accept of a surrender of the sayd £res patents and his right therevnto and to graunt the said offices vnto Thomas Lovett Esqr

for his life, wch wee are graciously pleased to yeild vnto, KNOWE yee therefore that wee of our especiall grace certeyne knowledge and meere moc̃on, and at the said humble request and petic̃on of the said Sr Robert Vernon and for diverse other good causes and considerac̃ons vs herevnto moving haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe give and graunt vnto the sayd Thomas Lovett the said office of Custodie and Keeping of our sayd House at Newmarkett in the County of Cambridge, And him the sayd Thomas Levitt Keeper of our said House and of the Stables Brewhouses, and all other Outhouses edifices backsides and groundes whatsoever now built or hereafter to be built there, and wch doe now belong or shall hereafter belong and apperteine to our sayd House, Wee doe make ordeine and appoint by those presents, TO HAUE HOLDE and enioy the said office of Custody and Keeping of our sayd house at Newmarkett, together wth the Stables Brewhouses outhowses and all other the premisses to the sayd Thomas Lovett during his naturall life, together wth all profitts and Com̃odityes to the same belonging or in any wise apperteyning. And further out of our more ample grace certeine knowledge and meere mocon we haue given and graunted and by these presents for vs our heires and successors wee doe give and graunt to the sayd Thomas Lovett for the Keeping of ye said House the wages and fee of Twelue pence by the day of lawfull money of England, To haue and yearely to receive the sayd fee of Twelue pence by the day to him the said Thomas Lovett and his Assignes from the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist last past before the date hereof for and during the naturall life of him the said Thomas Lovett out of the Treasure of Vs our heires and successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer of vs our heires and successors by the hands of the Trer Chauncello^r^ Vnder Trer and other officers of vs our heires and Successors there, for the time being at two vsuall tearmes or feastes of the yeare That is to say At the feast of the Birth of our Lord God and the Nativity of St. John Baptist halfe yearley by even porc̃ons to be payd, And further knowe yee

that wee haue likewise given and graunted for the Consideracõn aforesayd and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe give and graunt to the sayd Thoms Lovett the office and place of Keeper of our said Garden now belonging to o^r^ said house and of any other garden that shall hereafter belonge to the said house. To have hold exercise and enioy the office and place of Keeper of o^r^ said garden aforesaid together with the premisses to him the said Thomas Lovett or his sufficient Deputie or Deputies during his naturall life, And further of our more especiall grace certen knowledge and meere moc̃on Wee haue given and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe give and graunt to the sayd Thomas Lovett for the exercising of the sayd place of Keeper of our Garden aforesayd, the wages and fee of Twelue pence by the day of lawfull money of England, To haue enioy and yearely to receive the said fee and wages of Twelue pence by the day to him the sayd Thomas Lovett and his assignes from the feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist last past before the date hereof during his naturall life out of the Treasure of vs our heires and successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer of vs our heires and successors, by the handes of the Treasurer, Chauncello^r^, Vndertrer and other officers of vs our heires and successors there for the time being, at the vsuall feastes of the yeare, That is to say the feast of the Birth of our Lord God and the Nativity of St John the Baptist halfe yearely by even porc̃ons to be payd. Although expresse menc̃on &^c^ In witness &^c^ Witness &^c^ Given vnder our Privy Seale at our Pallace of Westm^r^ the five and twenty day of October in the forth yere of our Raigne.

Exd. Ja: Whylles

recepi 5 of November 1628." *

In November, 1628, Rowland Roberts was appointed keeper of the royal wardrobe at Newmarket Palace, with the fee of 1*s.* per day; and £10 for lights

* Privy Seal, Anno quarto Carlo Re, No. 404, MS., P.R.O.

and fires for airing the sheets, etc., providing lavender-water and roses, and other necessaries pertaining to the office, as well as £4 for his state uniform yearly, as set for that length in the following copy of the grant :—

1628. Charles I. Newmarket.

"CHARLES by the grace of God king of England Scotland France and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &^c To o^r right trusty and wellbeloued Councello^r Thomas lord Coventrye keep' of o^r greate Seale of England Greeting. Wee will & command you that vnder o^r said great Seale you cause o^r tres to be made forth patents in forme following CHARLES by the grace of god king of England Scotland France and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &^c To all to whom these ℙsents shall come Greeting KNOW YEE y^t we for diuers good causes and consideracõns vs thervnto especially moving haue given & graunted & by these ℙ^r snts for vs o^r heires & successo^rs doe giue & grant vnto o^r wellbeloued servant ROWLAND ROBERTS the keepinge or offices of Keeper of o^r Wardrobes at o^r house of ROYSTON & NEWMARKETT in o^r Counties of Cambridge & Suffolke or one of them And him the said Rowland Roberts the keep' of o^r Wardrobes of o^r said houses at Royston and Newmarkett we doe make ordeyne constitute and appoint by those ℙ^r sents To haue hold exercise enioye and occupie the said keeping or offices of Keep. of o^r Wardrobe of Royston and Newmarkett aforesaid to the said Rowland Roberts by himselfe or by his sufficient deputie or deputies duringe the Terme of his naturall life, And further of o^r more especiall grace certen knowledge & mere mocon we haue giuen & graunted & by these ℙ^r snts for vs o^r heires & successo^rs do giue and graunt vnto the said Rowland Roberts for the exercisinge & occupieing of the said offices of keeping of o^r wardrobes at o^r houses at Royston & Newmarkett aforesaide the wages & fee of Twelue pence of lawfull money of England by the Daie, To haue & yearly to receive and take the said fee of Twelue pence by the daie to the said Rowland Roberts and his asignes for & during the terme of his naturall life out of the

treasure of vs o^r heires & successors at the receipt of the Exchequ^r at Westminster of vs o^r heires & successors by the handes of the Treasurer and Chamberlaynes of the same for the time beinge at the feast of the birth of o^r lord god Thañtiacon of the blessed virgin Marie the Nativitie of St. John Baptist and St Michaell Harchangell by euen and equall porcons. And for the better keepinge and p^rserving of o^r wardrobe stuffe remayininge in o^r said ward robes at Royston & Newmarkett aforesaid of o^r more especiall grace certen knowledge & meere mocon we haue given & graunted & by these p^rsents for vs o^r heirs & success^rs doe giue and graunt yearly to the said Rowland Roberts during the said terme of his naturall life the sum of Tenn poundes of lawfull money of England to be by him imployed vpon wood & coales for the ayringe of the said wardrobe stuffe & for washing of Sheets & Pillowbeers * & fustians † & for lavender and roses wth other necessaries as broomes and brushes belonginge to the said offices. And further of o^r like especiall grace certen knowledge & meere mencon we haue giuen & graunted & by the s^d p^rsents for vs o^r heires & successo^rs doe giue & graunt to the said Rowland Roberts for the occupicing of the said offices during the terme of his naturall life the some of foure poundes of lawfull money of England for and in the name of his liverye and garding ‡ wth velvett & lining & all other things therevnto appertaining everie Yeare, To haue take receive & enioye aswell the said Tenn poundes yearly for wood & coales & other things aforesaid as the said foure poundes yearly for and in the name of a liverye & other things therevnto apperteyning to the said Rowland Roberts and his assignes during the terme of his life out of the Treasure of vs o^r heires & successors at the receipt of the Exchequ^r

* Pillowbere, a pillow-case ; "vij pillowberys," inventory, MS., Cantab, Ff. i. 6, f. 58. Also called a pillow-slip or pillow-tie. See payments under this head *inter alia* in these annals, *passim*.

† Fustians were coarse cloths used in lieu of tapestries, in the sense applied above. Fustian language = Billingsgate. See Cotgrave, Florio, and Planche, *sub tit.*

‡ Qy. trimming.

aforesaid by the handes of the Treasurer & Chamberleynes of the same for the time being at the foure vsuall feastes beforenamed by euen & equall porc̃ons yearly to be paid together wth all other ꝑrofitts comodities advantages & ꝑ^r^eminences whatsoever to the said offices apperteyninge. Although exp^r^sse menc̃on &^c^ In Witness &^c^ Given vnder o^r^ privy Seale at o^r^ pallace of Westm^r^ the first daye of November in the fourth yeare of o^r^ Raigne.

"Exc^t^ JA: WHYLLES
recepi 7 Novemb 1628."*

In October, 1631, Captain Henry Wood resigned his appointment of gamekeeper at Newmarket, whereupon the king gave him a pension of £60 a year, as appears at length in the following transcript of the royal grant :— **1631. Charles I. Newmarket.**

"CHARLES by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland defendo^r^ of the Faith &^c^ To our right trustie and wellbeloued Counsello^r^ Lord Coventry keeper of our great seale of England greeting. Wee will and command you that vnder o^r^ said seale you cause £res to be made forth patent in forme following, Charles by the grace of god &c To all whome these ꝑ'nts shalle come greeting, Know yee that wee as well in considerac̃on that o^r^ trustie wellbeloued servant Captaine Henry Wood hath by o^r^ command submitted vnto our disposing the office of keeping of our game at and about Newmarkett as also for diuers other good causes and consideracons vs herevnto moving, Of our speciall grace certaine knowledge & meere mo^c^on haue giuen and graunted and by these ꝑ'nts for vs our heires & successo^rs^ doe giue and graunt vnto the said Captaine Henry Wood one Annuitie or yearely penc̃on of Threescore pounds of good and lawfull money of England by the yeare. TO HAUE hold enioy and yearely to perceiue and receiue the said Annuitie

* Privy Seal, Anno quarto Caroli Regis, No. 418, MS., P.R.O.

or yearely penc̃on of Threescore pounds by the yeare to him the said Captaine Henery Wood from the Feast of the Birth of Our Lord God last past before the date hereof for and during the naturall life of him the said Captaine Henry Wood out of the Treasure of vs our heires and successo^{rs} at the Receipt of the Excheq^{r} of vs our heires and successo^{rs} by the hands of the Trer' vnder Trer' Chamberlaines Barons and other the officers of the Excheq^{r} of vs our heires and successo^{rs} for the time being, at the foure vsuall Feasts or termes of the yeare, that is to say, at the feasts of the Annunc̃ac̃on of the blessed virgin Mary the Nativitie of St John Baptist Saint Michaell the Archangell, and the Birth of our Lord God by even porc̃ons quarterly to be paid. And there our ℔r̃es patents or the inrollment thereof to all and euery the officers of the Excheq^{r} of vs our heires and successo^{rs} respectively for the time being for making due payment from time to time of the said Aunuitie or yearely penc̃on in manner and forme aforesaid to the said Captaine Henry Wood and his assignes, and for doeing and performing all and singular the premises according to the true intent and meaning of this our grac̃ous graunt a good sufficiente warrant and discharge, And order directions commands declarac̃ons or assignac̃on heretofore signified and giuen by vs or our late deare Father King James of happie memory for restraint of payment or allowance of pencons or annuiutie or any other restraint assignac̃on declarac̃on matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse menc̃on &^{c}. In witness &^{c} Giuen vnder o^{r} privy seale at our pallace of Westminster the One and twentieth day of May in the Seventh yeare of our raigne.

"Jo: Packer.*

"*Enroled:* Nov 15. 1631.

"*Endorsed:* Itt is his Ma^{ts} pleasure that this graunt passe the Broad Seal Oct: 28, 1631."

In December, 1631, Elizabeth and John Funston

* P. S., 6 Car. I., No. 77, MS., P.R.O.

obtained the king's licence to keep a "tavern or wine-cellar" in Newmarket. The document is a curiosity in its way, and as it is probably the earliest example of the kind ever printed we cannot refrain from giving it *in extenso* :—

1631. Charles I. Newmarket.

"CHARLES by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c., To all to whome this P^r'cts shall come greeting. Know ye that wee for certeyne Consideracõns vs moveinge are contented and pleased And by theis P^r'cts of o^r especiall grace certeyne knowledge & mere moc̃on for vs o^r heires & Successors doe give & graunte full & free lib'tie license power & authority vnto Elizabeth Funston wife of Roger Funston & her aseignes and vnto John Funston theire sonne & his assignes That she the said Elizabeth Funston from henceforth during her naturall life by her & themselves for and their servants deputies & assignes or any of them. And that he the said John Funston and his assignes after the death of Elizabeth his mother by him & themselves his & their servants deputies & assignes or any of them during the naturall life of the said John Funston shall & may have vse occupy & keepe one Taverne or wyne-seller within the Towne of Newmarkett in the Counties of Suffolke & Cambridge in the mansion house or houses wherein they the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne or their or either of their assigne or assignes doe nowe dwell or hereafter shall dwell w^th^in the said Towne, And therein from time to time to sell and vtter by retaile vizt by the gallon pottle quarte or by lesser or greater measure All & every good & wholesome wyne and wynes of what nature kind or name soever the same shalbee To be spent and druncke aswell w^th^in her & their mansion house or houses as out of her their said house or houses at her & their will & pleasure, And at & for such price & prices as from tyme to tyme the said wynes may wth reasonable P^r'ffit or gaine be afforded w^th^out any manner lett ympeachm^t^ losse forfeiture damage or penalty to be had incurred demanded or susteyned of or by the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne

or either of them their or either of their assignes for the same The acte & statute made in the seaventh yeare of the late kinge of England Edwarde the sixte intituled an Acte for the avoydinge of the excessive price of wynes * or any branch article or clause therein conteyned. Or any other acte law statute ordynance p̄'clamac̃on p̄'vision Comaundm' or restrainte by vs or any of o' noble p̄'genitors or p̄'decessors kings or queenes of this Realme heretofore had made or p̄'claymed to the contrary notw'thstandinge, Provided alwaies & nevertheless vpon Condic̃on That if the yearely so̅me or paym' of Forty shillings menc̃oned in the Condic̃on of one obligac̃on wherein the said Roger Funston standeth bound in the so̅me of Twenty pounds for the paym' of the said yearely so̅me to vs o' heires and Successors duringe the lives of the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne shall happen or fortune to be behind and vnpaid in p'te or in all by the space of Thirty daies next after any of the feasts lymitted by and in the Condic̃on of the said obligac̃on for the paym' of the same Contrary to the true intent & meaninge of the said Condic̃on, Or if the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne or the longer liver of them shall or doe at any tyme or tymes hereafter graunte set let or assigne the said lycence or £res pattents vnto any p̄'son or p̄'sons whatsoever either for longer or lesser tyme or shall by any

* According to the provisions of this Act, French and Gascony wines were to be sold at 8*d.* Rochell at 4*d.* and any other wine "after the rate of 10*d.* the gallon at most." (ii.) No person was allowed to have more than ten gallons of wine for his private use in his house unless he was worth by the year 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*), or have goods and chattels to the value of 1000 marks, or was the son of a Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, or Baron of the realm. (iii.) No person could keep taverns except in cities, towns, corporate boroughs, port and market towns, under licence of the Mayor, and in market towns under licence of Justices of the Peace. Not more than two taverns were allowed in any town, except in London where 40 were permitted, in York 8, Norwich 4, Westminster 3, Bristol 6, Hull 4, Shrewsbury 3, Exeter 4, Salisbury 3, Gloucester 4, Winchester 3, Oxford 3, Cambridge 4, Newcastle-on-Tyne 4, etc. (iv.) No person was allowed to retail wine "to be dronk or spent" on the premises under penalty of £10 for each offence. (v. vi.) Merchants, high Sheriffs, and Mayors of towns corporate were exempt, as also were the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

waies or meanes ℔mitt or suffer the same or any ℔te thereof to come to the hands vse interest ℔'ptie or possession of any ℔son or ℔sons whatsoever without the assent or agreem^t of o^r officer or officers appointed for the whole disposic̃on treatinge or makeinge of agreements of or for wyne Licences and Composic̃ons for wyne Licences from tyme to tyme to be had or made wth any ℔son or ℔sons whatsoever w^thin this o^r realme of England & Domynion of Wales, excepte in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall & the Citty of Exceter, first had and obteynn̄ in writinge vnder his or their hand or hands seale or seales, That then & at all tymes after the said lycense power & authority by theis ℔snts given and graunted shall sease determine and be vtterly void frustrate & of none effecte, Theis o^r ℔res pattents or any thinge therein conteyned to the contrary not^wh^standinge, And further o^r will and pleasure is, And wee also for vs o^r heires & Successors doe graunte that the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne & either of them by vertue of theis ℔sn'ts shall have take & enjoy the full benefit and advantage of this o^r licence from the first day of Aprill in the yeare of o^r lord god 1629, And wee doe by theis ptn's for divers good Considerac̃ons vs especially moveinge for vs o^r heires & Successors of o^r mere moc̃on speciall grace and certeyne knowledge freely cleerely and absolutely dischardge ℔'don release and quite clayme vnto the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne their deputies servants & assignes & either of them, All & singuler attempts Contempts offence & forfeitures by them or either or any of them done committed forfeyted or incurred since the said first day of Aprill in the year of o^r lord god 1629 contrary to any of the branches clauses or ℔visions conteyned or enacted in or by the statute made & enacted in the said seaventh yeare of the raigne of the said late Kinge Edward the sixte or of any of them wch doe restraine the prices of wines & Keepinge of Tavernes or sellinge of wynes or any other lawe or statute concerninge the same, And alsoe all and singuler informac̃ons acc̃ons bills and suites already comenced or hereafter to be comenced ag^t· the said Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne their Deputies or assignes or either or any of them for or concerninge any of the

offences or forfeitures aforesaid by them or eithere of them Committed done forfeited or incurred since the said First day of Aprill in the said yeare, And all penalties forfeitures & losses for or by reason of the same, Any matter thinge or things conteyned in the acte or acts or any matter clause article ꝑvision restrainte lymittac̃on of price ordynance or ꝑclamac̃on heretofore made had ordeyned or ꝑvided to the contrary thereof in any wise notwthstandinge, In Witness etc.

GORING.

This conteyneth a Lycense to Elizabeth Funston & John her sonne during their lives to sell Wines in the Towne of Newmarkett in the Counties of Suffolk & Cambridge & is done by vertue of his Mats £res pattents granted to George Lord Goringe & others in that behalfe dated 21° Decemb in the Third yeare of his said Mats raigne, And of a privy seale in that behalfe dated the last day of May in the Fiveth yeare of his said Mats raigne.

GORING.

Exãie by me Richard Daws
recpi 16 December 1631.

Endorsed:—"Entered at Signett & Priuy Seale the fourteenth day of December in the Seaunth yeare of his Mats. Raigne

FRA: GALLE:-
Wm WATKINS deptr. clerke" *

Among these *disjecta membra historica* relating to Newmarket, in the reign of Charles I., the following specific reference to the "golden cup," run for in the Spring meeting of 1634, first claims and merits our attention. John Coke, in a Whitehall despatch, dated Newmarket, March 14, says: "The King hath now declared that hee will remove fro' hence to Roiston on thuresday

March 14. 1633-34. Newmarket. The Gold Cup.

* Wine Office Grants, No. 90 (438), MS., P.R.O.

next, to bee at London on friday. Mame will bee gone in the begining of the next weeke: And I could wish a stay made of al letters to mee, that can not bee receaued here by twesday noone in this place. This day the races for running horses wil bee come ended wth the genral course for the gilden cup.* His Matie (god bee thancked) is in perfect health and at this p^r^sent is at tenis. The queen also is wel though shee had taken a little cold. I shal not need to write anie thing concerning Wallensteins death wch I know you receaued fro' al handes. What wil be the effects, tyme will disclose: this only I find considerable, that it hath brought sm̃ hopes and designs of the French to a stande. So I take leaue and remaine your assured loving brother and seruant, John Coke." †

Charles Franckland, writing from St. Ann's Street, London, March 20, 1630–4, says: "My Landlord the Earle of Southampton,[154] they say hath lost a great deal of monie now latelie at the horse race at Newmarkett, but true it is, he hath licence to travell for three years, & is gone in all hast into France." ‡

Plunging.

[154] Thomas Wriothesley, 4th EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, was a staunch supporter of King Charles I., was installed a Knight of the Garter at the Restoration, and was constituted

* In Murray's Handbook for Cambridgeshire (Edt. Lond., 1870, p. 389), it is said that "the first races were held at Newmarket in the reign of Charles I.; 'Bay Tarrall' being the celebrated horse that 'won the cup' in that reign." No authority is given for this statement, nor have we been able to discover any contemporary confirmation of it, except in Shirley's comedy of Hyde Park.

† State Papers, Dom., vol. cclxii., No. 68 (129) [–68].

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. cclxiii., No. 20 (51 *d*).

Lord Treasurer of England. His lordship married, first, Rachel, daughter of Daniel de Massu, Baron de Ruvigny, in France, by whom he had two sons, who both died young, and three daughters. He married, secondly, Frances, daughter of Francis Leigh, Baron Dunsmore, which nobleman was created, June 3, 1644, Earl of Chichester, with remainder, failing his own male issue, to his son-in-law, and the heirs male of his body by his lordship's daughter, the said Frances Leigh. He died in 1653, and the honours of Lord Southampton, were then augmented by the Earldom of Chichester. By this lady his lordship had four daughters. The earl married, thirdly, Frances, daughter of William, Duke of Somerset, and widow of Richard, Viscount Molineux, but had no issue. He died at Southampton House, "near Holborne, in the suburbs of London," May 16, 1667, when all his honours, including the Earldom of Chichester, became extinct.

Charles I. Newmarket. The Course and Stand, *temp.* Charles I.

"The fame of Newmarket began soon after the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Some horses, which had escaped from the wrecked vessels, are said to have been exhibited at that place, and to have astonished those who beheld their extraordinary swiftness. In a very short space of time racing had grown fashionable, and James I. and his court became so enamoured of the sport that a house was erected for their accommodation. At the time of the Civil War this house sustained considerable injury; and Charles II., on ascending the throne, and becoming chief patron of the Turf, ordered it to be rebuilt. An engraving of the stand, *temp.* Charles I., shows it to have been a substantial building, having seven high windows in front, and four windows at each end."—"Doncaster Races. Historical Notices," etc., by William Sheardown, Esq., J.P., p. 3.

Mr. Sheardown does not give any authority to, or reference for, the preceding statement, which may, nevertheless, be quite authentic, as it emanates from so high an authority on this subject. The engraving to which he alludes is, doubtless, that given in "Old England" (London: Charles Knight and Co., Ludgate Street, 1845, fo., Book iv., cap. iii., p. 228,) which we have reproduced. It is a curious coincidence that the authors in the last-mentioned work do not give any clue as to the origin or whereabouts of the original drawing, which we have been unable to discover. In the letterpress explanatory to the engraving, the writer in "Old England" says: "Horse-racing is in itself a sport recommended by many attractions to all who delight in the exhibition of the powers of this beautiful and generous-spirited creature: and deeply it is to be regretted that a sport so suited to the national taste should be degraded and made mischievous by the gambling and profligacy that accompany it. We have here, however, only to do with the sport itself, independent of its dangerous concomitants. Newmarket, as the metropolis of the sporting world, has obtained a European reputation. The course, which extends four miles in length, is considered to be the finest in existence. The fame of Newmarket began soon after the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Some horses, which had escaped from the wrecked vessels, are said to have been exhibited here, and to have astonished those who beheld their extraordinary swiftness. In a very short space of time, racing had grown fashionable, and James I.

and his court became so enamoured of the sport, that a house was erected at Newmarket for their accommodation. At the time of the Civil War the house sustained considerable injury; and Charles II., on ascending the throne, and becoming chief patron of the Turf, ordered it to be rebuilt. Part of it is still standing, with the extensive stables adjoining that were formerly used for the royal stud. The racing establishment of Newmarket is chiefly valuable for the training of horses, which is here conducted with such skill and success on the training-ground on the southern side of the town of Newmarket, that great numbers are exported, and very many sold at such advanced prices as none could merit but animals of the most consummate excellence. The thoroughbred English horse, such as is produced at Newmarket, stands, indeed, almost without a rival. Our engraving (Fig. 2104) represents the course in the time of Charles I."—*Ibid.*, p. 234*b*. (See frontispiece, vol. i.)

Lord Conway's expenses at Newmarket.

The following expenses were incurred by Lord Conway during his stay at Newmarket at this meeting: "The stable bill for saddle horses going [from Royston] to Newmarket 4*s*. 4*d*., to the Chamberlin 2*s*., for my Lordes supper at New Markett 6*s*., given to Mr. Lamb, my Lord of Northumberlands man, £1, to his grooms £1, to the maid that emptied the stool 2*s*., to the footmen their running mony 4 days 4*s*., for shoeing the coach horses by the way, 7*d*., to My Lord Clifford's coachman 3*s*."—State Papers, Dom., vol. cclxxxv., No. 19 (49).

c. **1634. Newmarket. March.**

Two years after, when Lord Conway was again here, the following disbursements are mentioned: "For tape to tie up my lords books, 6*d*., for pouder to put

1636.

among my lords lime 7*s.* 6*d.*, horse meal at Bishops Stortfords 1*s.* 1*d.*, for shoing a horse at Newport 5*d.*, 'for to backoe pipes,' 3*d.*, paid for post horses from London to Bishops Stortford 11*s.*, the stable bill at Newmarket for the 3 first nights £1 2*s.* 6*d.*, for watch candles 6*d.*, for 3 torches 2*s.*, 'my lord had of me at Newmarkett' £15, to Fellame and John there, running money to Newmarket and back again 4*s.*, for a quarter of oats in the market 16*s.* 6*d*, for a pair of galotias and waxing a pair of boots 4*s.*, paid for washing 6*s.* 6*d.*, for wax candles 3*s.*, the stable bill at Newmarket £2 13*s.* 8*d.*, to the ostler 6*d.*, paid for the footmens lodging 4*s.* 4*d.*, for the hire of a hackney coach two days 16*s.*, &c &c."—*Ibid.*, vol. cccxlvi., p. 109.

King Charles to Lord Petre.

"To the Ld Peter

"Right Trusty and well Beloved wee Greet you well whereas our father of blessed memory preuailed with you for his contentm^t^ and accomodation at New Market, to lay downe your warren at Kennet, wee takeing the like pleasure in the Counciency of that place both for the aire and our disport, have thought fitt to recomend unto you the same care of Vs: and if at our request you will againe order to free that ground from counies, and fill the borrowes, so as we may with more Security and lesse danger enioy our Sporte there. We shall accept it as an argum^t^ of your obseruance of our desires wch we well graciously accept. Giuen vnder our signett at our Court at dated last of July 1632."

Charles I. Newmarket. 1637. Kennet Warren.

The king's letter to Sir William Soame, Knight, relating to his warren at Fricklam, is word for word similar to the above, the name, of course, differing.*

KENNET now constitutes part of the training-ground on the Bury side of Newmarket, and is partly held by the Jockey Club. The manor was anciently the property of the Bigods, Earls of Norfolk, from whom it passed, with the title, to the

* State Papers, Dom., vol. ccxxi., Nos. 58, 59.

Brothertons and Moubrays; on the partition of the Moubray estates, between the noble families of Howard and Berkeley, this manor was assigned to the latter; William, Marquis of Berkeley, on failure of issue from himself, settled it on Richard Willoughby and his heirs; John Willoughby died seised of it in 1557. Early in the ensuing century it was in Lord Petre's family; soon after in that of Barnardiston. The head-quarters of the Parliamentary army were at Kennet in the month of June, 1647; and a regiment or two were quartered there for some years after. About the year 1777, John Onslow, Esq., who had lately taken that name in exchange for Williams, and was allied by marriage to the Barnardistons, sold it to Oliver Godfrey, Esq.

1635. December 9. Newmarket. Alleged robbery on the Heath.

"A Pardon vnto Robert Bainham Esqr and John Taylor is seruant of a misdemeanor by them comitted upon New market heath in making a show and ꝑtence by some Acts by them done as if the said Bainham had bin robbed and murdered whereas there was no such thing in truth. But afterwards the said Bainham went privately towards London and conccaled himself whereby trouble was occasioned to the Justices of the Counties of Cambridge and Suffolk and the peace of the County disquieted. Subcr by Mr Attorney and pcur by Mr Secretary Windebank."—Docquet Book, vol. xv. *sub dato.*

Charles I. Newmarket. 1627—28.

Assessment of the 4th and 5th entire subsidies granted anno 3 and 4 Charles I., and levied in Newmarket (Cambridgeshire).*

		Valuation.	Taxation.
Joane Bottlesham	in land	£2	8s.
Christopher Shereman	„	£1	4s.
Richard Pickes, gēnt.	,	£3	12s.

* The assessments of that part of the town in Suffolk at this date are not extant.

		Valuation.	Taxation.
Henry Blackusin	„	£1	4*s.*
William Balls, gent.	„	£1	4*s.*
Jeremy Gansin	„	£1	4*s.*
	Total	£9	£1 16*s.*

—Exch. Lay. Subs. Cambridgeshire 3 & 4 Charles I. $\frac{83}{389}$ a. MS., P.R.O.

1640. Newmarket. Landowners and taxation.

The following are the names of the landowners residing in that part of Newmarket situated in Lackford Hundred, Suffolk, showing the valuation of their possessions and the amount of taxes received in 1640 by the Commissioners appointed to rate and levy the first two subsidies therein :—

Owners.		Value.	Amt. levied.
Thomas Rudgewell, clerk	in land	xl*s.*	viij*s.*
John Gormage	„	xl*s.*	viij*s.*
Thomas Lamasber	„	xl*s.*	viij*s.*
Mary Burke, widdow	„	xl*s.*	viij*s.*
James Ayerr	„	xl*s.*	viij*s.*
Robert Stonvyarde	„	xx*s.*	iiij*s.*
John Howlett	„	xx*s.*	iiij*s.*
Henry Myles	„	xx*s.*	iiij*s.*
John Bentley	„	xl*s.*	viij*s.*
Thomas Cooke	in mo *	iij^{li}	viij*s.*
Robert Bridgeman	in mo	iij^{li}	viij*s.*
Sin^{d} iij^{li} xvj^{s}.			£3 16*s.*

According to this return there were in this part of Newmarket nine landowners whose property was then valued at £15 yearly, and two other persons whose

* Movables = chattels.

movables were assessed at £6; and the amount of the tax collected thereon came to £3 16s.*

Charles I. 1640. Newmarket.

Assessment of the 2nd first subsidies granted anno 16 Car I. and levied in Newmarket (Cambridgeshire).

		Valuation.		Taxation.
Boeadell Millison, gent. . .	in land	£3	. .	£1 4s.
John Jure	„	£3	. .	£1 4s.
Thomas Jackson, gent. .	„	£2	. .	16s.
Mary Balls, widdow . .	in goods	£3	. .	16s.
Christopher Shereman . .	in land	£1	. .	8s.
Henry Blacknoin . . .	in goods	£3	. .	16s.
Jeremy Gowing . . .	in land	£1	. .	8s.
		£16		£5 12s.

Exch. Lay. Subs. Cambridgeshire, 16 Car. I. $\frac{83}{400}$ MS., P.R.O.

[In the following year the amount collected was £2 less —*Ibid.*, $\frac{83}{417}$.]

1640.

Assessment of the 2nd first subsidies of the four entire ones granted anno 15 Charles I., and levied in Newmarket (Suffolk).

		Valuation.		Taxation.
Mrs Mary Balls, widdow .	in land	£1	. .	8s.
Mr George Balls . . .	„	£1	. .	8s.
Mrs Margaret Funston . .	„	£1	. .	8s.
Mr Will Cleyton . . .	„	£1	. .	8s.
William Penge . . .	„	£1	. .	8s.
Rich : Beddingfield . .	„	£1	. .	8s.
John Huske	„	£1	. .	8s.
Walter Poulter . . .	„	£1	. .	8s.
John Funston . . .	„	£1 10s.		12s.
	Total	£9 10s.		£3 16s.

Ibid., Suffolk, 15 Car. I. $\frac{283}{509}$.

* Lay Subsidies, 15 Car. I. $\frac{183}{509}$ Suffolk, MS., P.R.O.

In 1644, 1645, and 1646, Newmarket and Exning jointly contributed £17 5*s.* 6*d.*, £23 4*s.*, and £33 7*s.* 8*d.* towards the support of the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.* Newmarket. Charles I.

The following description of Newmarket and the Dykes adjacent is taken from Holland's edition of Camden's "Britannica," London, 1637, fol.:— 1637.

. . . . "*Ixning* more famous in times past than now. For *Andre* the Virgin K. *Annas* daughter and canonized for a Saint, was heere borne, *Ralph* also Earle of this East England heere entered into conspiracy against *William* the Conqueror, and *Hervey* the first Bishop of *Ely* made a cause or high way from hence to *Ely*. But now, for that *Newmarcate* is so neer whither men resort with their wares and commodities more frequently, it hath begun to decay. That this *Newmercate* is a Towne of late days built, the very name it self doth import: and it is situate in such sort, that the South part thereof belongeth to Cambridgeshire, the North side to Suffolke: and both of them have their sevarall Churches: whereof this [North side] acknowledgeth *Ixning*, the former *Ditton* or *Dichton*, for their mother. Hereof I have found by reading nothing, but that under King *Henry* the Third, Sir *Robert L'Isle* gave one part in franke marriage with his daughter *Cassandra* unto Sir *Richard De Argenton*, from whom the *Alingtons* are descended. Heere lyeth out a great way round about, a large Plaine, named of this Towne, *Newmarket Heath*, consisting of a sandy and barren ground yet green withall, wherein is to bee seene that wonderfull Ditch, which, as if it had beene cast by the devill, the common fort called *Devils Dike*, whereas in very trueth, most certainly it is knowne to be one of them, wherewith the Inhabitants (as *Abbo* writeth) fenced themselves against the inrodes of their enemies, as shall be showed more at large when we are come to Cambridgeshire. Yet in the meane time, I am here to adver-

* Exch. Lay Subs., *s. d.*, MS., P.R.O.

tise the Reader, that the least of all these ditches showeth it self two miles from hence betweene *Snaile-well* and *Moulton*."

In his account of Cambridgeshire we find the following details :—

"Not far from hence [Horseheath] are seene here and there those great and long Ditches which certainly the *East Angles* did cast, to restrain the *Mercians*, who with sudden inrodes were wont most outragiously to make havocke of all before them. The first of these beginneth at *Hinkeston*, runneth Eastwards by *Hildersham* towards *Hors-heath*, about five miles in length. The second neere unto this, called Brent-Ditch, goeth from *Melborne* by *Fulmer*. Where *D. Hervies* cawsey which I mentioned, endeth, there appeareth also a third forefence or ditch cast up in old time, which beginning at the East banke of the river *Cam*, reacheth directly by *Fenn-Ditton*, or more truly *Ditch-ton* (so called of the very *Ditch*) betweene Great *Wilberham* and *Fulburn*, as farre as to *Balsham*. At this day [1637] this is called commonly *Seaven mile Dyke*, because it is seaven miles from *Newmercate:* in times past, *Fleam-Dyke* in old English, that is Flight-Dyke, of some memorable flight there, as it seameth. At the said *Wilberham*, sometimes called *Wilburgham*, dwelt in times past the Barons *Lisle* of Roug-mount (*De Rubeo monte*), men of ancient nobility : of whom John, for his Martiall prowesse, was by King Edward the Third ranged among the first founders of the order of the Garter ; and of that Family there yet remaineth an heire Male, a reverend old Man and full of Children, named *Edmund Lisle*, who is still Lord of this place. More East from hence five miles within the Country, is to bee seene the fourth forefence or *ditch*, the greatest of all the rest, with a rampier thereto, which the common people wondering greatly at as a worke made by Devils and not by men, use to call *Devils-Dyke:* others, *Reche-Dyke*, of *Reche*, a little mercate town, where it beginneth. This is doubtlesse that, whereof *Abbo Floriacensis*, when he describeth the sight of East England, writeth thus. *From that part whereas the Sun inclineth Westward, the Province it self adjoyneth to the rest of the Island, and is therefore passable ; but for feare of being overrun*

with many invasions and inrodes of enemies, it is fortified in the front with a banke or rampier like unto a huge wall, and with a Trench or Ditch below in the ground. This for many miles together cutteth overthwart that Plaine which is called *Newmarket heath*, where it lay open to incursions, beginning at *Reech:* above which the Country is fenny, and therefore impassable: and it endeth near to *Cowlidge*, where the passage by reason of woods was more cumbersome. And it was the limit as well of the Kingdome, as of the Bishopricke of the *East Angles.* Who was the author of so great a piece of worke, it is uncertaine. Some later writers say it was King *Canutus* the Dane: whereas notwithstanding the said *Abbo* made mention of it, who died before that *Canutus* obtained the Kingdome of England: and the Saxon Chronicle, where it relateth the rebellion of *Athelwolph* against King Edward the Elder, calleth it simply *Dyke;* and sheweth, *That King Edward laid waste whatsoever lieth between the Dyke and the river Ouse, as farr as the North Fenns:* also that *Athelwold the rebell and Eohric the Dane, were at that time slain there in battell.* But they who wrote since think, that King *Canutus* cast it up, who being most devoted to Saint *Edmund*, the *Martyr*, granted unto the religious Monkes of Saint *Edmunds Bury* (for to make satisfaction for the wicked cruelty of *Swan* his father wrought upon them) very great immunities, even as farre as to this *Dyke;* whence it is, that *William of Malmesbury* in his booke *Of Bishops* writeth thus, *The Customers and Toll gathers, which in other places make foule worke and outrage, without respect or difference of right and wrong, there in humble manner on this side Saint Edmunds Dike, surcease their quarrels and braules.* And certaine it is that these two fore-fences last named were called Saint *Edmunds Dykes.* For Mathew *Florilegus* hath recorded that the said battell against *Athelwolph* was fought between the two *Dykes of Saint Edmund.*"

In June, 1638, the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of Peace for Cambridgeshire assembled at New-

market, by order of the Privy Council, to inquire into the cause and nature of certain riots alleged to have recently taken place at Swaffham, Bulbeck, Burwell, and Wicken. This investigation showed that such reports were exaggerated, although it was proved that disturbances had taken place at Burwell, where certain rights of common had been infringed upon and enclosed by the lady of the manor, appertaining to the queen; whereupon the commoners assembled, demolished the ditches lately made thereon by the queen's officers. The report was duly forwarded to the Council, and bears the signature of "Dud. North," "Js. Dalton," "Jsac Barrow," "Tho. Tyrrell," "Rob Linkyn." *

1638. Charles I. Newmarket. An inquisition.

Before taking leave of Newmarket, for the present, it may not be out of place to remark that the whilom "royal village," which may be said to have been created by the sunshine of the

1646. Interregnum. Newmarket.

* State Papers, Dom., Charles I., vol. ccccxii., No. 54. The discontents between the gentry and the commonalty in various counties respecting inclosures grew to a petty rebellion in the reign of James I., and indeed, "land-grabbing" has continued more or less ever since. Sanderson gives a story of James I. being about, when on a hunting excursion in Berkshire, to dine with a man of title, when he came upon a prisoner in the stocks. The king asked him what was the cause of his restraint. The man of title said it was for stealing a goose from the common. The fellow in the stocks appealed to the king as to who was the greater thief, he for stealing geese from the common, or his lordship for robbing the common from the geese? "By my saule, sir," said the king, "I'se not dine to-day on your dishes till you restore the common for the poor to feed their stock." The man was set free, and the restoration of the common quieted the country. This incident probably gave rise to the well-known lines :—

"It's very wrong in man or woman
To steal a goose from off a common;
But who can plead the man's excuse
Who steals the common from the goose?"

"Lord's anointed," in which every man, woman, and child, during the reigns of the two first Stuart sovereigns, were so devoted to those monarchs, contained in 1646 but *one* householder who remained loyal to the cause of fallen royalty. This one royalist was Jasper Brydon, an old soldier, who held "a small tenament" in Newmarket worth £4 yearly. He had another house in Cambridge—his entire patrimony producing £20 a year. Upon this assessment he had to pay the Cromwellians a composition of £60. As the proceedings of the sequestration are novel and unknown, we subjoin the *modus operandi* pursued in this and (*mutatis mutandis*) similar cases:—

(I.)

Jasper Brydon of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge gent.'

His delinquency that he was in Armes against the Parliam^te^ and in Wallingford at the tyme of the Surrender, and craues the benefit of those Articles, wherein six months tyme is giuen to make their peace with the Parliam^te^ or to goe beyond seas, which bears date the 6^t^ of July, 1646. He peticoned heere the 24th of November, 1646.

He hath taken the Naconall Couenant before Wm Barton minister of John Zacharies the 15th of December 1646. And the negative oath heere the 19th of December 1646.

He compounds vpon a perticular deliured in vnder his hand by which he doth submit to such Fine &c. and by which it doth appeare,

That he is seised in Fee to him and his heires in possession, of and in a messuage or Tente' scituate and beinge in Cambridge in the County of Cambridge, and of another Tente scituate and beinge in Newmarket in the county of

20 li. Norfolke [*sic*], both together beinge of the yeerely value before theis troubles 20ll. D. WATKINS.
Other estate he hath none. 5° Jan 1646
Fine att Sixt 60ll.

19th Decembris 1646.

(II.)

To the right Honourable Cõmittee of Lords and Cõmons for Compositcons att Gouldsmiths hall.

The humble petic̃on of Jasper Brydon of Cambridg.
Most humbly sheweth

That your petic̃oner having bene in actuall service in the garrison of Wallingford against the Honourable the High Court of Parliament and now comming in vpon the Articles graunted to the said Garrison desires to Compound for his Delinquencie and

Humbly craveth that he may be admitted to a favourable Composic̃on for his poore estate

And shall for ever pray
JASPER BRYDON.

Accept[d] this 24
Nov[br] 1646.
Refer'd to ye Sub Com[ttles]
Jo: Leech.

(III.)

These are to certifie that Jasper Brydon of Cambridge in the County of the same Gent, did freely & fully take the Nationall Covenant and subscribe y[e] same upon the Fifteenth day of December 1646. The sayd Covenant being administered unto him according order, by me,

WILLM BURTON Minister
of John Zecharies London.

Endorsed.—These are to certifie that John Brydon of Cambridge took the negative oath here this 19th of December 1646 THO: VINCENT.

(IV.)

A Perticular of the estate of Jasper Bridon.

Hee is seized of an estate of Inheritance of a Messuage or Tennement in Cambridg amounting to the yearely value of Sixteen pownds per añn.

Hee is seized also of one small tenament to the value of fowre poundes ℔ annum being in Newmarket in Suffolke.

JASPER BRYDON.*

1643. The Devil's Ditch.

Queen Henrietta Maria, in her "Memoirs," refers to the Devil's Ditch at Newmarket. When a fugitive at Burlington Quay, on the coast of Yorkshire, in February, 1643, the Parliamentary fleet, under Admiral Batten, bombarded the house where she had taken refuge; "and before I was out of bed," says her Majesty, "the balls whistled so loud about me that my company pressed me earnestly to go out of the house; the cannon having totally beaten down the neighbouring houses, two balls fell from the top to the bottom of the house where I was. So cloathed as well as in haste I could be, I went on foot to some little distance from the town of Burlington, and got into the shelter of a *ditch like that at Newmarket*, whither before I could get, the cannon bullets fell thick about us, and a servant was killed within seventy paces of me." †

Sir William Dugdale refers to this incident of "grim-visaged war" in his diary, *s. d.* February 24, 1643; and it is thus mentioned in Naworth's Almanack: "Four Ships and a Pinnace in the Rebbels

* Royalist Composition Papers, series II., vol. xxii., pp. 755–761. MS., P.R.O.

† "Memoirs," 1671, p. 34.

service (which came over-night into the Road) made above 100 great shot at the houses in the Quay, for two houres shooting crosse-barre-shot, and bullets of 12lb. weight, all of them aiming so near as they could, at the house where the Queen lay: insomuch that her Sacred Majesty was forced to make what haste she could out of her bed, and to get under an hill to save her life from the fury of these bloody Rebels, who endeavoured to murther her. — But God Almighty preserved her Majesty both by Sea and Land."

When differences first broke out between the Long Parliament and the army, the latter organized themselves at Newmarket this year, under a peculiar kind of representative government. They appointed a council of officers to be as it were a house of peers, and a sort of senate, composed of common soldiers or subalterns, termed agitators, to whom two or three were selected by each regiment, and who might be termed a military house of commons. In consequence of the deliberations of this hopeful assembly, they seized the person of the king, bid defiance to the Parliament by whom they had been levied and paid, and having met by general rendezvous on the heath * (June 14, 1647), presumably to see the races,

1647. Newmarket. Rendezvous of the Army on the Heath. Arrival of Oliver Cromwell.

* During the agitation in the army which succeeded in the seizing of the king's person, Cromwell remained in London, professing his attachment to the Commons, and lamenting that he incurred the suspicion of the army for his attachment to the privileges of the house; but finding his professions disbelieved, he suddenly left London with precipitation, and, placing himself at the head of the army, encouraged them in their designs and pretensions. His arrival had a dramatic effect. He came to the heath at full speed, "upon a flea-bitten horse, threw himself on the

they entered into resolutions for impeaching Hollis, Stapleton, and nine other leading members of the Presbyterian interest in the House of Commons. The result of this curious meeting at Newmarket, as is well known, was the army's taking possession of the city of London, overwhelming the Parliament, and effectually seizing the reins of government. But no sooner did Cromwell, as general of this extraordinary army, become possessed of the supreme power, than he saw his authority menaced by the very means which had raised him to it. The council of agitators soon after were prohibited to meet; but the private soldiery retained the ideas of independence which that establishment had infused into them. This insubordination, however, Cromwell soon suppressed.

"A general rendezvous of the army; at which it had no doubt been originally designed that the king should be present, took place in the vicinity of Newmarket on the fourth and fifth of June. The idea however of bringing the king to the rendezvous was afterwards laid aside; and in consequence Charles was turned away from his route, and his abode for a short time fixed at Childersley. The principal transaction at the rendezvous, was the production of a solem engagement, to be assented to and subscribed by all the officers and soldiers, by which they declared they would cheerefully & readily disband, when required by parliament, or else would, many of them, be willing, if desired, to engage in further service either in England and Ireland, having first such satisfaction given them in relation to their grievances, heretofore presented, and such security that they and other free-born people of England should not remain

1647. Charles I. Newmarket.

ground before the soldiers, and without a moment's pause subscribed the engagement to stand by them."

subject to the oppressions and abuses which had been attempted to be put upon them, while an army, as should be agreed upon by a council, to consist of the general officers of the army, with two commissioned officers for each regiment, and two soldiers to be chosen by the regiments themselves: at the same time adding, that, without such satisfaction and security, they would not willingly disband or divide, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded or divided. They further disclaimed all purpose or design for the overthrow of the magistracy, the suppression of presbytery, the setting up of independency, or anything else than to promote an establishment of common right and equal freedom of all."—"The History of the Commonwealth," by William Goodwin. London, 1828, vol. ii., book ii., p. 322.*

1649. Interregnum. Newmarket.

At a meeting of the Council of State, held at Derby House on the 11th of April, 1649, the sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire were required to cause diligent search to be made in all places within their jurisdiction for the apprehension of "one on horseback," who fired at and murdered a sailor on Newmarket Heath, when proceeding to London, with others, as volunteers to serve in the *Star* frigate. The result of this inquiry has not transpired.†

1650.

On the 14th of December, 1650, the council passed a minute (14), "to write to Col. Rich to cause 40 horse to be at Newmarket with all speed, for conveying the judges from thence to Norwich." ‡

1651.

We find this body in communication with Lieutenant-General Fleetwood on the 23rd of August, 1651, relative to Colonel Wharton's regiment, "which was

* See transcript of this "Solemn Engagement of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, read, assented unto, and Subscribed by all Officers, and Souldiers of the several Regiments, at the general Rendezvous near New-Market, on the 5th of June, 1647," in Rushworth's "Historical Collections," London, 1701. Part iv., vol. i., p. 510. MS., Calander House of Lords, *sub dato*. Hist. MSS., Coss. Report viii. Compare Carlyle's "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," vol. i., p. 355.

† State Papers, "Interregnum," vol. xciv., p. 81.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xv., p. 9.

a little on this side of Newmarket," when and where "they showed great cheerfulness & alacrity to march against the enemy, & had resolved to be at Royston that night, & to march on with all expedition." *

"*Monday, the 15th of August*, 1653.

"Colonel *Kous* reports from the Committee for Petitions that . . .

1653. Interregnum. Newmarket. Great Fire at.

"The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of *Newmarket* in the County of *Suffolk*, for some Relief for several great Losses by Fire, together with several Sums certified, and the Counties and Cities: Which the Committee have set out, wherein the Contribution may be collected respectively.

The Petitioners.	Losses by Fire.	Counties and Cities to contribute.	
"The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of *Newmarket* in the County of *Suffolk*.	*l.* 2565	*Lincoln.*	*York.*
		Norfolk.	*Norwich.*
		Suffolk.	*London.*
		Cambridge.	*Westm.*
		York.	

"The Question being put, That the House doth agree with the Committee in this Report;

"The House was divided.

"The Yeas went forth.

"Colonel *Clerk*, "Captain *Crust*,	Tellers for the Yeas: With the Yeas,	41.
"Colonel *West*, "Colonel *Blunt*,	Tellers for the Noes: With the Noes,	32.

"So it was *Resolved*, That the House doth agree with the Committee in this Report.

"*Resolved*, That several Patents be prepared for the several Collections in the respective Counties and Cities, according to this Report: *viz.*

"For Relief of the Inhabitants of *Newmarket*, in the County of *Suffolk*, for a Collection in the Counties of *Lincoln*,

* State Papers, Interregnum, vol. xcvi., p. 407.

Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridg, York, and in the Cities of *York, Norwich, London,* and *Westminster.* And that the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England* be authorized and required to pass the same under the said Great Seal, accordingly: And that the Committee who made this Report, be authorized and impowered to set down what Fees shall be taken for the passing of the said Patents, for easing the Charge of the Petitioners; and that no Fees be taken for the same.

"*Resolved,* That the Direction of the said Patent be, 'To the Overseers of the Poor, to make the several Collections.'

"*Resolved,* That the Time of the Continuance of the said Patents shall be, the Space of Six Months, and no longer, from the Time of passing the said respective Patents."—*Vide* "Journals of the House of Commons," vol. vii., pp. 300*b*, 310*a*.

The following lists of **benefactions** were formerly painted against the wall of the east end of All Saints' Church: one on the south side and the other on the north:—

"Richard Pickes Gent. did give by his last will and testament to the poor people of both parishes in Newmarket yearly 10 stone of beef, & 10 dozen of twopenny bread to be distributed upon Christmas eve, & half a hundred of salt fish to be distributed the second Friday in Lent, & 40^{s} to be distributed in manner following, viz. 20^{s} upon Easter Eve, & 20^{s} upon Whitson eve, of which the poor of this parish to have the one half. And also he did give 40^{s} a year forever to have the Bell rang at 8. of the clock at night, & four in the morning in winter time, and at nine of the clock at night in sumer time. All which guifts are issuing & going out of his house called the Greyhound in this parish for ever."

"Mark Proudfoot Gent. gave to the poor of this parish on the 10 day of Feb. 1658, the sum of £5 for ever. Mrs. Agartha Millecent gave 20^{s} ℔ ann. for ever payable out of a house in Bury, whereof 10^{s} to the Minister & 10^{s} to the poor of this parish. John Markant gave 6^{s} 8^{d} ℔ ann. to ye poor of this parish payable now by the Lord Alington. . . . Hudson gave to ye poor of this parish 6^{s} 8^{d} a year for ever, payable out of

a house called the Feathers in Newmarket. Ten pounds remaining in the hands of Mr Will Phillips of Ely due for ye use of ye poor for ever." *

In St. Mary's church the preceding grant was also "wrote" on the wall over the arch of the door, "going into the S. Chapel," with the following important addition: "Also gave 47s ℔ ann. to this Church & 16s 6d to the church clerk; all which gifts are payable for ever out of his house formerly the Greyhound in this Parish; which is now the King's house, & the sum of money for all these gifts are to be received yearly at the Coffer Office of his Majesty's Household, which sum is £13 5s. ℔ ann." †

In 1735, John Archer, gentleman, gave to the poor of St. Mary's parish a case of red herrings, the first Sunday in Lent, and 62 band faggots the first working day after Christmas, payable out of the Maidenhead Inn. ‡

Some of the five bells in the belfry of St. Mary's church are of fair antiquity. Two of them are dated 1580, and bear this inscription: "De Buri Santi Edmundi. Stephanus Tommi me facit." Two others, dated 1619, are each inscribed, "John Draper made me." The other (not hung?), "Thomas Gardiner and Tho. Newman fecit, 1719." **The Bells.**

* Davy MS., Lackford Hundred, fo. 251.

† *Ibid.*, fo. 253. The Greyhound, situated in High Street, on the Suffolk side of the town, is now the property of Mrs. Charles Wood. It is the oldest, the most central, the cheapest, and one of the best hotels in Newmarket.

‡ *Ibid.*, fo. 249.

BOOK IX.

THE ANNALS OF THE TURF, TEMP. CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH. 1625—1654.

Introduction—The turf in England on the accession of Charles II.—Sir Edward Harwood's animadversions—His prejudice exposed—The nation addicted to racing—Brief introduction to—The annals—Salisbury meeting—The race funds—Interest taken in the meeting by the Corporation—The Gold Cup—The meeting suppressed by the Roundheads—Projected revival in 1650—The articles for the cup race in 1654—The gold bell given by the Earl of Pembroke—The fixture—The course—The gold snaffle given by the Earl of Essex—The old stewards and the supporters of the meeting—Sale of the bell and snaffle—The funds derived thereby—Invested with other contributions to provide another cup—£18 value—To be the property of the winner for ever—The scale and weights—The entrance fees—The mayor stakeholder—Stable expenses—The starter—The musketeers—Their duties during the race—Length of the Cup course—The judges—*Sir Edward Baynton, Bart.*—Chester—The St. George cup—Its value—The calf's head feast and the Corporation—Newcastle—Wallasey—*Sir Richard Gargrave*—Harleston—*Lord William Spencer*—Hyde Park—Match between Messrs. Prettyman and Havers—The articles—Description of their horses—The fixture—The hour—The course—The jockeys—The weight—H.F.—Other events—The Rev. Michael Hudson's famous mare—His better horse—His remarkable match with the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Gentleman"—Plunging—The race—Hudson's horse wins easily—The archbishop's gentlemen refuse to settle—And complain to his grace—Who sends for the reverend winner—Hudson cited before the Court of High Commission—His prowess as a horseman—Employed to assist the escape of the King from Oxford—The "Postman" newspaper—The description of this race in Hyde Park—The first turf reporter on record—He eschews dates—Hudson before the Arch-

bishop's court—He is admonished—Order for his examination—Attached—Respited—Has to proceed to proof—Asks for his petition to be read—The verdict—His subsequent career—Memoir—The popularity of the races in Hyde Park—Other references to them—Stamford—Antiquity of this meeting—The fixture—The cup—Its value—How provided—Bull-baiting at Stamford—Its origin—Winchester—Heavy betting—Berwick-on-Tweed—The meeting suppressed by the Royalists—Incidents, etc.—Lord Clifford—*Sir Jacob Astley*—Mayor Fenwick—The Earl of Essex—The Marquis of Huntley—The Earl of Home's brother—The King and court at Berwick—March of the expedition against the Scots—Epsom—Probability of race-meetings held there—Racing in Yorkshire—Ascomb Moor, Hambleton, and Tollerton meetings—The Knavesmire—The Hague—Introduction of the Turf into Holland—Racing under difficulties—*Henry Verney.*

According to Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, horse-racing was firmly rooted in England early in the seventeenth century. Our authority—who, be it remembered, had puritanical predilections, and probably biassed opinions on this subject—condemned the Turf as injurious to the cultivation of good horses! His assertion that this kingdom was more defective in good horses at this period (*c.* 1642) than at any other, is manifestly inaccurate. "The defects consist chiefly," he says, "in want of fit horses, and fit men to bee horse-men, which I take to bee the greater want of the two, and can but wonder, that so great a kingdome should bee so defective in so brave and noble a strength, wherein our nearest neighbours so abound; in ancient times we were not so, it may bee one reason is, *that now our Nation is more addicted to running and hunting horses, than in those elder times.*" He proposes to have a "stronger" breed of horses, suitable for heavy cavalry, in place of the swift, which he disparages as unsuitable "for the defence of their King and Country,"

adding that "If the Noblemen and Gentlemen would take this to heart, as they have done, running of races for bels (which I could wish, were converted to shooting at a marke with pistols on horseback for the same bell;) they would be sufficient for Curassiers." *

Burton,† in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," tells us that, among the "disports of great men" in those days, "Riding of great horses, running at [the] ring, tilts and turnaments, *horse-races*, wild-goose chases," although good in themselves, yet "many gentlemen, by that meanes, gallop quite out of their fortunes." ‡

Turning from generalities to positive facts and records of the rise, progress, and extent of the Turf during the reign of Charles I. and, occasionally, during the Commonwealth, we find race-meetings at Newmarket, where the gold cup was run for at the Spring meeting of 1634.§ Frequent allusions have been made to horse-races at Newmarket by numerous writers, but this is, *per se*, the earliest authentic and irrefutable occurrence of such on record (founded on *contemporary* data) upon the famous Heath during the reign of Charles I. As we have already seen, "hunting-matches" and horse-racing are mentioned at Newmarket in the preceding reign, but these events are surrounded with so much ambiguity as to deprive them of the interest they would excite if they had been more definitely recorded.

* "The Advice of that Worthy Commander Sir Ed: Harwood." Lond. 1642, 4to.

† Born February 8, 1577 : died January 8, 1640 *(n.s.)*.

‡ "Anatomy of Melancholy" (Edit. Oxon, 1621), Part ii.; sec. ii., No. 4, p. 342.

§ See *post*.

At Salisbury these Annals illustrate the progress of the races there; and, allowing for the difference in the value of money then and now, the prizes were very valuable. The articles for those races will be found as interesting as they are quaint. The national sport at Chester and Wallasey was much the same as in the preceding reign. Races took place in Hyde Park, where there was a course laid out for that purpose. The Turf seems to be making headway at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and at Winchester, the latter meeting being associated with heavy betting. At Berwick-on-Tweed the races were suppressed, in 1639, owing to the vicissitudes of war; a like result having befell the Epsom meeting nearly ten years subsequent to that date. In Yorkshire, meetings took place at Ascombe Moor, Hambleton, and Tollerton. Races also took place at Newcastle in 1632 and 1633; and at Harleston, Northamptonshire, about the same time. We also find the Turf introduced to Holland, for the first time in 1638, by some enthusiastic English officers then serving in the Dutch army.

c. 1629. Salisbury.

At this time it appears the racing funds at the disposal of the corporation of Salisbury amounted to £43, derived from the sale of the gold bell and snaffle in 1619, to which was added £246 16*s.* 9*d.*, contributed by divers and sundry noblemen, knights, and gentlemen interested in the sport. It was now agreed that the corporation and citizens of Salisbury should make up the sum of £320 stock to provide a cup to be run for yearly for ever at the general races there on Thursday next after the Middle Sunday in Lent. The prize obtained from this fund was "a silver cup gilt with gold to the full value of £18." *

* See *post*, sub. ann. 1654.

Although horse-racing had been long condemned by the rigid preachers of the day, the citizens of Salisbury were by no means weaned from so fascinating a sport. On the 18th of February, 1649-50, a resolution was passed by the corporation of that city to confer with the gentlemen of the country, "entreating them to make good their articles to the City, as the City has done their part, or else we shall not provide a cup of such value as formerly." However, it was determined that the cup for that year should be the same as usual; but it was not to be delivered until certain fees (or forfeits?) due to the city were satisfied.*

1650. Interregnum. Salisbury.

"*A Counterparte of the Deed to Sir Edward Baynton, from the Maior and Com'lty touching the Race Cupp.*

1654. Interregnum. Salisbury.

"This Indenture made the eight and twentyeth daie of March the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and fifty fower, between the Mair and Comynalty of the Citty of New Saurm of th' one p'te and Sir Edward Baynton [155] of Bromham, in the county of Wiltes of th'other p'te. Whereas the Right Hoñble Henry late Earle of Pembrooke deceased did longe since in his lief tyme give and deliver a certein peice of plate being a Golden Bell for the advancement and use of the horse race to be yearly run with Race Horses in the tyme of Lent uppon the Thursday next after Midlent Sunday, at the place then used and accustomed for horse races upon the Downe or plaine leading from the said Citty of New Saurm towards the Towne or Borough of Shaston in the County of Dorset. And whereas the Right Hoñble Robert late Earl of Essex deceased heretofore in his life tyme did likewise give and delivere a certain golden snaffle which was likewise to be run for yearly by Race Horses in the tyme of Lent at and uppon the place and day aforesaid. And whereas afterwards, that is to say, in or about the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and nyneteen the Right Honourable William late

* Hoare's Hist. Wilts, vol. vi., p. 416.

Earle of Pembroke and divers other noblemen and sundrie knights and gentlemen of quallity for the better advancement of the said horse race did raise a certaine stocke of money to the intent that for ever after a faire cupp of silver gilte with gould should yearly be provided and run for with horses at the generall horse race then used in tyme of Lent, as aforesaid, for the better effecting whereof the said noblemen knights and gentlemen did consent and agree that the said golden bell and snaffle should be sould and that the money thereby raised together with such other moneys to be added thereto as could be gotten or raised by the severall guifts and collecc̃ons of and from such noblemen knights gent' and others, as were or should be found willing to contribute money towards the advancement of the said Race Cupp, should remaine and be placed with the said Maior and Commonalty to contynewe with them and their successors as a stocke for the mayntenance of the said race for ever. And whereas in or about the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred twenty and nyne it did appeare that there then remained in the hands 1629. of the said Maior and Comynalty the summe of three and forty pounds as the money made by the sale of the said golde bell and snaffle and alsoe the summe of two hundred forty-six sixteen shillings nyne pence as money received by them as voluntary contribuc̃ons of divers noblemen knights and gent' to the use of the said race. It was then agreed between the said Sir Edward Baynton and others in behalfe of the said noblemen knights and gent' and divers of the aldermen of the said city on the behalf of the said Maior and Comynalty that the said Maior and Comynalty should out of a voluntary contribution by the inhabitants of the said city make upp the said several sums of forty and three pounds and two hundred forty-six pounds sixteen shillings and nyne pence the full summe of three hundred and twenty pounds, which summe of three hundred and twenty pounds should then remain as a settled stocke in the hands of the said Mayor and Comynalty for ever, for the providinge of a cupp as aforesaid to be yearly runn for with the Race

horses at the Generall Horse Race then used in the tyme of Lent and at the place aforesaid uppon the Thursday next after Middle Lent Sunday the said cupp to be delivered after the race ended unto such person whoe should wyn the said race. Now this indenture witnesseth that the said Maior and Comynalty for and in consideracon of the said summe of three hundred and twenty pounds raised as aforesaid and agreed uppon to be and remaine in the hands of the said Maior and Comynaltie for ever as aforesaid do by theis presents for them and their successors covenant promise and agree to and with the said Sir Edward Baynton and his heirs in manner and form following, (that is to say) that the said Maior and Comynalty and their successors shall and will yearly and every yeare soe long as there shall continue and be one generall horse race run in which two or more horses shall run for the cupp hereafter mentioned, and that in the tyme of Lent uppon Thursday next after Middle Lent Sondaie at the place and according to the manner accustomed for horse races for the cupp yearly run for formerly uppon the playne leadinge from the said City of New Saurm towards the towne or bourgh of Shaston, yeilde finde and p'vide one silver cupp gilte with golde of the full value of eighteen pounds, and shall and will cause such a cupp of the value of eighteen pounds to be delivered to such p'son as shall yearly and successively wyn the same horse race or to his or their assignes at the place where the said horse race shall yearly ende, to be had and enjoyed for ever by such person or p'sons as shall yearly wyn the same horse race, And that the said Maior and Comynalty and their successors shall and will yearly for ever at the tyme of the said race cause to be in readiness at some convenient place of the said race place a beame scal and weights for the ryders of the horses which shall be appointed to run the said race. And it is hereby declared and agreed uppon by and between the said p'ties to theis presents that if such cupp yearly to be provided as aforesaid shall at any time happen to fall short of the value of eighteene pounds as aforesaid that then the said Maior and Comynalty

shall cause to be paid at the delivery of the said cupp to the p'son who shall wyn such cupp soe much money as the same shall want of the value of eighteen pounds. And likewise that if such cupp soe to be provided at any time shall happen to be over and above the value of eighteen pounds that then such p'son who shall wyn such cupp before the delivery thereof shall pay to such p'son who shall have the said Cupp in place to be delivered to the p'son wynninge the same soe much money as the said cupp shall really be worth in value over and above the said summe of eighteen pounds. And it is further agreed by and between the said p'ties to theis presents That every ryder which shall ryde any of the horses appointed to run the said race shall yearly, as long as the said race shall contynue putt in and delyver to the Maior of the City of New Saurm for the tyme beinge or his assignes to such purpose before such race shall begin the summe of twenty shillings for stables for the race. All which sums of twenty shillings so putt in and delivered together with the cupp yearly to be provided as aforesaid are to be kept and delivered into the hands and keepinge of the said Maior for the tyme beinge or his assignes to such purpose till it shall be adjudged by the judges appointed for the tryall of the said race which of the horses soe runninge hath or shall wynne the same race, and then to deliver all the sumes of money putt in and delivered as for stables together with the cupp p'vided for that yeares race unto the wynner of the same race. And that the said Maior and Comynalty shall and will yearly provide and cause to be in readyness at the said race one of the inhabitants of the said citty or some other person who shall attend at the usual starting place of the race to give the word when the horses to run the said race shall begin to start and run the same. And shall and will likewise yearly at the said place provide three men with muskets charged with powder to be discharged as followeth that is to say: One of the said three men to stand at the first myles end from the starting place of the said race and there discharge his musket as the running horses passe by

him: One other of the said three men to do the same at the seconde myles ende from the said starting place, and thother of the said three men to do the like at thend of the third myle from the said starting place. And lastly shall and will yearly cause to be in readyness at the said place two other inhabitants of the said citty who shall be appointed by the Maior of the said citty for the time beinge to be judges which of the horses runninge in the said race shall wynn the same. In witness whereof to th'one parte of this Indenture remaininge with the said Sir Edward Baynton the said Maior and Comynalty have putt the common seale of their corporacion and to th'other p'te of this Indenture remayning with the said Maior and Comynalty the said Sir Edward Baynton hath sett his hand and seale yeeron the day and year first above written." *

155 Sir Edward Baynton, K.B., son and heir of Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, of Borham (above mentioned) and his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Maynard, of Easton, county Essex—baptized December 2, 1618. He took an active part in the troubled times in which he lived, and acted as commissioner of the Parliament, residing in the Scots army. He was M.P. for the county of Wilts 1620, and for Devizes 1654, High Sheriff 1638. The family, however, removed from Falston to Bromham, in Wiltshire, and on the mansion-house there being destroyed in the time of Charles I., retired to Spye Park in that neighbourhood, where a descendant of them still resides. At the Restoration Sir Edward was created Knight of the Bath. He married Stuarta, daughter of Sir Thomas Thynne, and sister to Tom Thynne, Esq., of Longleat, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. He died suddenly, July 26, 1679.

1654.

In a contemporary manuscript, preserved at the British Museum,† descriptive of a topographical excursion through

* Hoare's Hist. Wilts, vol. v.

† MS., Lansdowne, 213, fols. 319–348.

twenty-six counties in England, Scotland, and Wales, by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, done and performed in the autumn of 1634, it is recorded under *sub sit.* Chester: "to Wales ward is a long fayre Race for Horses, where hur will run hur Welsh Tyke, with the prowdest pamper'd Courser of our English Breed." 1634. Charles I. Chester.

In 1629 the companies at Chester contributed to St. George's race to make up a certain sum of money. Charles I.

In 1640 the sheriffs gave a piece of plate valued at £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, to be run for on Easter Tuesday in lieu of the sheriff's breakfast. Charles I. *et. seq.* Chester.

In 1674 a resolution was entered in the corporation journals, that the calf's-head feast was held by ancient custom and usage, and was not to be at the pleasure of the sheriffs and leave-lookers.

In the month of March, 1677, the sheriffs and leave-lookers were fined £10 for not keeping the calf's-head feast.

For this feast was afterwards substituted an annual dinner, usually given by the sheriffs at their own houses, on any day most suitable to their convenience.*

"The earliest notice of these races is in the year 1632, when we find the following item in the corporation accounts: 'Paid £20 to John Blakiston, chamberlain, which he disbursed for two silver potts granted by the Common Council, for the race on Killingworth Moor after Whitsuntide.' 1632. Charles I. Newcastle.

"The following year, 1633, the races appear to have been in a flourishing condition. In a letter from Thomas Bowes, Esq., to Mathew Hutton, Esq., of Marsk, dated June 5th, the former, speaking of his nephew, Sir George Bowes, says, 'He is now at Newcastle, and it seems he thinks his money will never have an end, for he is making matches with the lords of the horse-coursers, and, as we hear, hath made two matches, one for £40, and the other for £100.'"—"Archæologia Oliana," part xiii., p. 239. 1633.

* Hemingway, Hist. Chester, vol. i., pp. 209–211.

Richard James in his "Inter Lancastrense," written in 1636, refers to Wallasey race-course:

1636. Charles I. Wallesay (now Birkenhead).

> . . . "Austins voice is true,
> Empire condigniy was to Romans due.
> Our wayes are gulphs of dirt and mire, which none
> Scarce ever passe in summer withoute moane;
> Whilst theirs through all ye world were no lesse free
> Of passadge then ye race of Wallisee,
> Ore broken moores, deepe mosses, lake and fenne,
> Now worcks of Giants deemd, not arte of men."

The author's comparison of the Roman roads to Wallasey race-course was for the purpose of showing that the former were as clean and unencumbered as such race-courses were when he wrote.

Sir Richard Gargrave, of Nostal and Kinsley, Yorkshire, who died in obscurity *circa* 1635, was identified with all of the evil associations of the Turf. His infatuation for gambling was extreme; so much so, that he soon dissipated the immense estates to which he succeeded in 1605, over which he could ride from Wakefield to Doncaster without deviating an inch off his own land! His father, Sir Cotton Gargrave, had three sons—John, who died an infant; Robert, who was slain in Gray's Inn Fields, London, in the lifetime of his father; and Thomas, his unfortunate successor. By his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Waterton, Esq., of Walton, Sir Cotton Gargrave had Sir Richard, the subject of this memoir, the destroyer of his family, and other children. When his half-brother, Sir Thomas Gargrave, was executed at York, for poisoning and then baking a boy of his kitchen, in an oven, Sir Thomas claimed and eventually acquired the family estates. In the following year he served the office of sheriff, when his extravagance was of the most lavish description; and it is related of him, that as he rode through the streets of Wakefield, he "bestowed great largesses upon the common people, in congratulation for so wise, peaceful, and religious a king as England then enjoyed." This was a part of that course of extravagance and wanton expense by which he and the family came in a few years to want. He was fond

of midnight revel, and devoted to play. His excesses in these, were, until recently, the subject of narration in the neighbourhood, at the expiration of two centuries. His attachment to gaming is commemorated in an old painting which was long preserved in the neighbouring mansion of Badsworth, in which he is represented playing at the old game of put, the right hand against the left, for the sake of a cup of ale. By degrees he parted with his many manors. Dodsworth, writing in 1634, says of him that "he now lyveth in the Temple (Alsatia) for sanctuary, having consumed his whole estate, and hath not a penny to maintain himself, but what the purchasers of some part of his lands in reversion after his mother's death allow him, in the hope he will survive his mother, who hath not consented to the sale." In the days of his prosperity he "had horses innumerable at his command," but at last he was reduced to travel with the pack-horses to London, where he was found dead in an old hostelry, with his head upon a pack-saddle. In a contemporary reference to his death he is mentioned as "a great horse-courser." Such was the career of Sir Richard Gargrave, who, like the Earl of Cumberland, in the preceding reign, was a victim of the bad influences of the Turf, without, apparently, having enjoyed any of the pleasurable incidents with which the national sport is surrounded.

c. 1632. Charles I. Harleston, Northamptonshire.

"On the heath, to the south of the town, races were formerly ran. The corporation of *Northampton*, by deed bearing date 16 Jan., 1632, in consideration of the sum of two hundred pounds paid by *William* Lord *Spencer*,[156] and other gentlemen of the county, obliged themselves to provide yearly a gilt silver cup and cover, of the value of £16 13*s.* 4*d.*, to be ridden for on Thursday in Easter Week yearly: with covenant that upon notice given on the Friday in the race-week that they will return the said money within the year following, then they shall not be tied, so are the words of the deed, to provide the said cup any longer." * —Bridge's "History of Northamptonshire," vol. i., p. 511.

* These races maintained a degree of local celebrity for upwards of a

[156] William, 2nd Lord Spencer—son of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight, of Wormleighton, county Warwick, who was elevated to the peerage July 21, 1603, by the title of Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, and some lady whose name and lineage is unknown—succeeded his father, October 25, 1627. He married Penelope, daughter of Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, by whom he had Henry, his successor, and Robert, created Viscount Teviot, in the peerage of Scotland, in 1685, a dignity that expired with himself. William, 2nd Baron Spencer, died in 1636.

1635. Charles I. Hyde Park.

"Artickles of agreement concluded and agreed vpon betwene John Prettyman of Horninghold in the County Leicester Esqr of theone parte, and John Havers of Stockerstone in the said County of Leic'. Esqr of thother parte the thirty^th day of Marshe in the eleaventh yeare of the raigne of o^r Sou'aign lord Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Franc and Ireland Defendor of the faith &^c in manner and forme followeing:

"Imp^rmis the said partyes haue agreed to run a match in Hyde-Parke wth two or ther horses or nagges now in ther owne possession for a hundred powndes a piece of lauefull money of England, the said John Prettyman horse or nagg to be a gray nagg wch he bought of Mr Dutton and wch rid a match wth a gray stoned horse of the said John Hauers vppon

century. In 1721–2 they continued three days: on the first day was run a purse for 100 guineas; on the second day the town (or corporation) plate of £20; and on the third day a purse of 10 guineas for galloways not exceeding 14 hands high. In 1736 the stakes were raised to 30 guineas, given by the Duke of Marlborough, on the first day; £20 given by the town (or corporation) of Northampton on the second day; and 50 guineas, called the gentleman's purse, for hunters, on the third day. The last advertisement of 'Harleston Races,' in the 'Northampton Mercury,' was in 1739, from which time they have been discontinued."—Baker, "History and Antiquity of the Town and County of Northampton," vol. i., p. 171. Lond., 1822–30.

Liddington's raunde* the eight day of Januarye last. The said John Hauers to be the browne horse or nagg wch he bought of Dauid Cecill Esqr.

"Itm, the said partyes haue agreed to ryde the said match the three and twent^yth day of April next being St. Georges Day betwixt the howres of nyne and ten of the Clocke in the aforenoone of the same day: To begin and start together at the Upper-lodge in Hyde-park and to run the vsuall way from thence ouer the lower bridge vnto the ending place at the parke gate; ther horses to Carry eight stone and a half a peece after the rate of fowrteene poundes to eu'y stone, and whether of the said horses as shall come first at the said ending place or post to win the said match.

"Lastly the said partyes to these articlles haue agreed, that whether of them as shall fail in p'formance of the aboue said agreem^ts vpon the said day and at the said tyme and place to forfeitt to the other fiftye pounds of lawful money of England and in witness therof haue joyntely herewith sett ther hands and seales the day and yeare first aboue ritten.

"Sealed Signed and Deliuered in the View of Richard Alunne, John Burton, Philip Wilson.†

JOHN PRETYMAN (Seal)

JOHN HAURES" (Seal)

c. 1635. Hyde Park.

In its report of the proceedings of the House of Commons, under date "Thursday, January 21 [1646–47]," the third number of the "London Post" refers to the arrest and arraignment of "Master Michael Hudson," who, in his examination, confessed having written to Major General Langhorn and others on treasonable subjects against the Commonwealth, whereupon he was com-

* Query, Rand = in old English, the margin or border of anything. The reading is obscure.

† State Papers, Dom., Charles I., vol. cclxxxv., No. 63, MS., P.R.O.

mitted "close prisoner to the Tower, and no man should speake with him but in the presence of his Keeper." The Parliamentarians who arrested Hudson at Newcastle, received the thanks of the House, and pecuniary rewards. The writer in the "London Post" then continues as follows :—

"Though I am scanted in time, yet I have here roome in this place to informe you how expert a man this Master *Michael Hudson* was in the art of Horsemanship, and how not many yeares since he was so hard at a Horse race in Hide Parke, for all the Bishop of *Canterburyes* Gentlemen, and came from them a cleere gayner of at least seven hundred pounds. The story is briefly thus.

"He had an excellent Mare and so swift of foote, that at all races she did carry away the prize, And was so extraordinary well knowne that no man would be so hardy as to adventure against her; on all matches and races, this Mare was allwayes excepted; which Master *Hudson* observing not long after became Master of a Nagge so full of speed as if he had bin of the Race of those who were begotten by the wind: Master *Hudson* in Lincolneshire would often privately run these two together, and he found that in halfe a miles race his Nagge would outrun the Mare twelve score paces: With this Nagge he comes to *London;* And the Archbishops Gentlemen doe welcome to *Lambeth* their old *Oxford* acquaintance. A match is made for a Horse-race in Hide Parke. Master *Hudson* having not his Mare in Towne, the Archbishops Gentlemen are so confident of successe that they would lay downe all the Moneys they have, or what they can borrow of their Friends, Master *Hudson* doth seeme to be as desperate as they. The monyes being layd down, the race with great expectation beginnes. And Master *Hudsons* Nagge what with its owne swiftnesse and courage, and the art and helpe of his rider, doth make such hast that it doth out run the other almost halfe in halfe: the Archbishops Gentlemen are brake, their money is lost, and to helpe the matter they

complaine to the Archbishop, Master *Hudson* is sent for and examined (that being a Schollar) who made him a Horse-racer. He is required to restore the money, and he denyes it. Therefore he is put into the Commission Court the Arch-Bishops old powdering Tub, but having not yet taken Orders for the Ministery, for he was beneficed afterwards in Lincolne-shire, and married also after that, he was inforced to dismisse him againe.

"These arts, and such as these were did bring him acquainted with Sir *Edward Nicholas* Secretary of State, and the King being to depart disguised from *Oxford*, non more fit person could be thought upon to conduct him then Master Hudson, who was an excellent Horseman (a rare commendation in a Schollar) and besides being a Yorkshire Gentleman he was perfectly well acquainted with the wayes. But the King (I hope) will now shortly follow a better guide, and better Counsellours and returne unto his Parliament."

The preceding extract is probably the earliest account of a horse-race that has ever appeared in any newspaper. Unfortunately, the writer eschews dates, therefore it is uncertain to say precisely when this race in Hyde Park took place. However, as the Court of High Commission (which is the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Old Powdering Tub," referred to by the Puritan scribe in the "London Post") was abolished in 1640, it is evident that Hudson's *coup* in Hyde Park occurred prior to that time; probably in the year 1635.

Turning to the registers of the Court of High Commission, we find this clerical turfite arraigned before the Inquisitioners at Lambeth on October 15, 1635, where he appeared, was sworn to answer certain articles (not specified), and was "monished to be

examined before the next court day."* On the 22nd of that month he was again arraigned and again admonished, "or to be attached;"† and on the 29th he was "respited till the next court day." On the 12th of November he was again before this tribunal, when a rule was made for "the case to proceed to proof;"‡ and on the 28th of January, 1636 (new style), he appeared "and desired his petition to be read." § As this was his last appearance in the "Powdering Tub," it is probable the case was settled out of court.

On the 19th of December, 1638, Michael Hudson, M.A., was preferred to the rectory of Uffington, Lincolnshire; ‖ and on the 10th of March, 1640, he was presented to St. John's Hospital, near Lutterworth, Leicestershire, and diocese of Lincoln, "in his Majesty's gift, *pleno jure*." ¶

Anthony Wood says the Rev. Dr. Hudson was "a Westmorland man born, became a poor serving child of Queen's Colledge in the year 1621, in that of his age 16, afterwards Tabarder, and in the year 1630 Fellow of that house, he being then Master of Arts. About that time he took holy Orders, married Capt — Pollard's daughter of Newnham Courtney in Oxfordshire, and was beneficed in Lincolnshire. When his Majesty K. Charles I. set up his standard, he left his Benefice, adhered to him, and after Edgehill battle, returning to Oxford,

* Vol. cclxi., fol. 265*b*., MS., P.R.O.
† *Ibid.*, fol. 273*b*.
‡ *Ibid.*, fol. 287.
§ *Ibid.*, fol. 311.
‖ Docquet Book, *sub dato*.
¶ *Ibid.*, MS., P.R.O.

was in February, 1642, actually created Doctor of Divinity, and made Chaplin to his Majesty. About that time he being esteemed an understanding and solem person of great fidelity was made Scoutmaster General to the Army in the northern parts of England, under the command of William Marquis of Newcastle, whereby he did wonderfully advantage himself in the ways and passes of those parts. In that employment he continued for some years, with very good success. At length his Majesty (who usually called him plain dealing Captain, because he told him his mind, when others would, or durst not) having an especial respect for his signal loyalty and courage, entrusted him, and John Ashburnham, one of his Groomes of his Bedchamber, with his person, at the time he left Oxon in disguise April 27, 1646, in order to surrender himself into the hands of the Scots, then beseiging Newark on Trent." *

Hudson took a very conspicuous part in the king's fatal flight from Oxford to the treacherous Scots, by whom the latter was sold for £200,000 to the Puritans, and Hudson, as we shall subsequently see, soon after was done to death in the service of his royal master.

In consequence of the post held by our reverend turfite, of Scoutmaster General to the army, he had been employed for nearly a month, prior to the night of the flight from Oxford, in delicate negotiations between the king on the one part, and Monsieur Montreuil, the French ambassador, and the traitors in command of

* "Athenæ Oxon.," col. 56., ed. genuine.

the Scottish army on the other. These negotiations necessitated the utmost expedition. Hudson seemed to have been here, there, and everywhere at the same moment, so swift were the movements of this famous horseman. But his most arduous duties did not begin until April 27th, 1646, when he took command of the royal fugitive—the whole party consisting of five persons, and subsequently reduced to himself, the king, and Ashburnham—in the flight to the north, which he describes as follows :—

"Upon Sunday after beinge April 26 at Dinner I came to Mr Ashburnham as soone as he was awake (beinge returned but that Morninge from a Treatie at Woodstocke, being sent thither the Eveninge before with 2. Lords & Sr Wm Fleetwood) & he told me the Kinge must goe my way, for they had made tryall of other waies, but nothinge could be effected, & wished me to bringe all things to his Chamber, and thither the Kinge would come about 11. of the Clocke, that night, all which was accordinlie done, & about 12. the Kinge came with the Duke of Richmond, & there Mr Ashburnham cut off his Locke, & some part of his beard.* In the Interim they sent me to call the Governor, who came about two of the Clocke, & the Kinge having acquainted me with his Intentions to goe out of Oxford, the Governor went back for the Keyes, and just as

* Although it appears the king's barber in ordinary was at Oxford, it seems he was not trusted to assist in disguising Charles prior to his flight: "To Thomas Davyes Esqr Barber to his Late Matie Kinge Charles ye first (of Blessed memory) for severall sumes of money by him disbursed whilest hee attended on his late Matie at Oxford and other places in the late warres, for severall necessary provicons by him made for his sayd late Ma^ts^ Tryming and for washing his Tryming Lynnen &^c^ from Michas 1642 to our Lady Day 1646 by vertue of his Matie's^ warrant vnder the Signett and Signe Manuall beareing date the xij^th^ day of August 1661 An^o^ RR Caroli Secondi xiij^tio^ vj iiij^li^."—Audit Office Records, Declared Accounts, bundle 396, roll 81.

the Clocke struck 3. we passed over Magdalen bridge, & after we were out of the last port a little, the Governor, havinge received Orders from the Kinge, not to let any port be opened, nor any passe in or out of Oxford for 5. dayes. So we three passed through Mouch Bulden, & thence to Dorchester, where was a Guard of Dragoons, which we passed without any difficultie or examination. At Benson a small partie of Horse mett us & asked to whom we belonged (Mr Ashburnham & I rideinge both with Pistolls) I answered to the House of Commons, and so passed. At Henley we passed in like manner without any question, onely shewinge the Passe to the Corporall, and givinge 12^d^ to the Guard. One of Col. Ireton's men rid in oure Company from Nettlesbed to Slow, & seeing me give money alwaies at the Guard, asked him if his M^r^ [master] were not one of the Lords of the Parliament, he answered noe, his M^r^ was of the lower House. After we passed Maydenhead & Slow, we turned out of the Road towards Uxbridge, & there passt another Guard at the water, in the same manner as we had passed the former. After we had passed Uxbridge, at Mr Treasdale's House, a Taverne in Hillingdon, we alighted & stayed to refresh ourselves, betwixt ten and eleven of the clocke, & there stayed 2. or 3. houres, where the King was much perplexed, what course to resolve upon, London or Northward. The consideration of the former Vote, & the apparent danger of being discovered at London, moved him to resolve to goe Northward and through Norfolke where he was least known, & there stay till he had sent me againe to Montreuil, to heare what he had donne with the Scotts, resolvinge absolutely, that if the Scots would not send him assurance under their hands, of such conditions as he expected, he would rather cast himself upon the English, and trust them, and wished me to bringe their hands to him, or if there were danger in that, to see all their hands to such Propositions, as they agreed to. About 2. of the Clocke, we tooke a Guide towards Barnet, resolvinge to crosse the Roads into Essex ; but after we were passed Harrow upon the Hill, I told the Kinge, if he were not knowne much in St. Albon's Road, It was much the neerer way to goe through St. Albon's

& thence towards Royston, which he approved of, & so passed through St. Albon's, where one old Man with an Halberd asked us, whence we came, I told him, from the Parliament, & threw him a sixpence & so passed. After we had ridd a mile a Gentleman well horst came gallopinge after us verie fast, which put us in some doubt, that we had been discovered in St. Albon's, but they tow [*i.e.* the Kinge and Mr. Ashburnham] turninge aside, I turned my horse to meete him, & saluteinge him, found him verie drunke, & soe to avoid his Company, turned up another way, till he was past, & after went to Walthamsteed 3. Miles from St Albon's, where we lodged that night, & next morninge tooke horse at day breake & went towards Baldocke: & as we rid upon the way, It was resolved that I should goe directly away towards Southwell, and the Kinge, & Mr Asburnham, towards Norfolke, & to stay at the White Swann at Downham, till I come back to them. So at Graveley, the Kinge gave me a little Note to Montreuil, wherein he expressed his departure from Oxford, & desired him to make an absolute conclusion with the Scots, & if they would give such assurance for hon^ble^ Conditions for him, as would satisfie him (concerninge the particulars, whereof the Kinge had given me Instructions) then he would come to them; If not, he was resolved to dispose otherwise of himself upon my returne. I came to Southwell next morninge, and acquainted the French Agent with these particulars, who upon Thursday night told me, they would condiscend to all the Demands which the Kinge & Montreuil had agreed to make to them, before Montreuil came from Oxford (of which Montreuil told told me the Summe) but would not give any thinge under their hands. I desired to avoide mistakes, that the particulars might be sett downe in writinge, lest I should afterwards be charged with making a false Relation, & soe he sett the Propositions downe in writinge.

"'(1) That they should protect the Kinge in his person and n his honour. (2) That they should presse the Kinge to do, nothinge contrary to his concience. (3) That Mr Ashburnham & I should be protected. (4) That if the Parliament refused,

upon a Message from the Kinge, to restore his Rights & Prerogatives, they should declare for the Kinge, and take all the Kinge's Friends into their protection. And if the Parliament did condiscend to restore the Kinge, they should be a means, that not above 4. of them should suffer banishment, & none at all death.'

"This done, the French Agent brought me word, that the Scots seriously protested the performance of all these, & writt a little Note to the Kinge to accept of them, & such security, as was given to him, in the King's behalfe.

"I came to the Kinge upon Friday night, and related all & he resolved next morninge to goe to them, & soe upon Tuesday Morninge, we all came to Southwell, to Montreuil's Lodgings, where some of the Scotch Commissioners came to the Kinge, and desired him to march to Kellom [Kelham] for security, whither he went after Diner.

"That night they procured an Order from the Kinge to the Lord Ballasis [Belasyse] for Surrender of Newark, that they might make more speedie repair to Newcastle. And while the Kinge stayed at Kellom, pressed the Kinge to some things, contrary to the former Propositions, at which the Kinge was much displeased."

The king was now a prisoner in the hands of the Scotch, consequently the march from Kelham to Newcastle was not conducted by the direction or interference of Hudson. On their arrival at Newcastle, Hudson and Ashburnham were wanted by a sergeant-at-arms who had been sent there by the Parliament to arrest them; the latter effected his escape to Holland, while Hudson was temporarily confined in the mayor's house. Curiously enough, the Scotch kept their engagement with respect to Hudson, and refused to deliver him up to the Parliamentary sergeant-at-arms, probably because

there was no money to be gained by so doing. A consultation was held on the following day, as to the best way of getting rid of Hudson, who was offered a passage to Holland. He nobly declined to accept the proffered refuge, and preferred to go to London in order still to serve the cause of his betrayed sovereign, notwithstanding the dangers that course was certain to entail. Leaving Newcastle at two o'clock on Sunday morning, he arrived, apparently without any serious adventure, in London, on the following Monday, the 1st of June. Here he was in constant communication with a few staunch Royalists, ready to ride any distance, fearless of the consequences, in the cause he still adhered to, now the most forlorn of forlorn hopes. Many projects may have been discussed, but there only remained two courses to pursue: one to urge the king to make the best of his bad bargain, and temporize with the Scots; the other to communicate with the queen, who was then in France. The latter course having been decided upon, the expedition was undertaken by Hudson with his usual alacrity; but having been betrayed by a false friend, he was arrested at Sandwich on the 7th of June, when *en route* for Dover.

Immediately after his arrest Hudson was brought to London and committed to prison. On the 18th of June his examinations and confession were under the consideration of the Parliament, and on the 24th of that month, in a characteristic letter to Mr. Brown of Lincoln's Inn (which is still preserved in the

Bodleian Library), he asks him to interest himself for the recovery of the horse he rode when he was arrested, and to endeavour, if possible, to compound for it with the sergeant by whom it was seized. Whether he succeeded in recovering the possession of the horse has not transpired; but he recovered the possession of his liberty on the 18th of November, by escaping from prison. He did not long enjoy his freedom, as it was announced on the 22nd of December that "Mr. Hudson, the King's Guide to the Scots, was again taken by Major Poyntz, and his examination sent up to the Parliament." During this brief interval, Hudson, as ex-Scoutmaster General, resumed his difficult task, and is said to have conveyed letters from the King to Major-General Rowland Langhorn, in Wales. Some of these letters appear to have been intercepted by Major-General Skeppon, by whom they were sent up to the Parliament on the 11th of January, 1646–7, at which date Hudson is officially recorded as "being again apprehended;" and the Governor of Hull was ordered to send him up "in safe custody by land to the Parliament;" while the letters were referred to a committee. On the 21st the officers and troopers who conveyed our hero to London were ordered £60 for the good of their pains, when it was also announced that "Dr. Hudson the King's Guide was long examined in the House [of Commons] and committed close prisoner to the Tower for treason," and, according to another account, "with strict order given, that none should speak to him, but in the presence of his keeper."

During his confinement in his "close prison in the Tower," he wrote a curious work, entitled "The Divine Right of Government, (1) Natural and (2) Politique: More Particularly of *Monarchie*; the only Legitimate and Natural spece of Politique Government. Wherein the Phansyed State-Principles Supereminencing *salutem populi* above the KING's Honour," etc. This quaint production—a small octavo containing 191 pages—was published in 1647, and Anthony Wood has been pleased to assert that the author "shews himself to be a scholar, as he before had, by his martial feats, a courageous soldier."

Early in the ensuing year Hudson again succeeded in making his escape from prison, and got safely into Lincolnshire, where he organized a cavalry regiment for the service of "his most gracious and dread sovereign," and engaged some of the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk in the like design. On the 7th of June, 1648, intelligence had reached the Parliament "that the malignants were up in Lincolnshire under Colonel Dr. Hudson, and Colonel Stiles;" and on the following day letters were received from Colonel Waite "that he had fallen upon those who had made an Insurrection at Stanford, had killed their Commander, Dr. Hudson, and others, and had taken many of them prisoners, but discharged the countrymen. The House approved of what he had done, and order him thanks for it, and that the General should send him a commission of Martial Law to try the Prisoners."

It seems the chief body of these malignants,

so called, fled to Woodcroft House, in the parish of Helpson, near Peterborough, in Northamptonshire, about seven miles from Stanford, where Hudson was barbarously killed on the 6th of June. His end is thus described: "After the rebels had entered into the house, and had taken most of the royalists, Hudson, with some of his courageous soldiers, went up to the battlements thereof, where they defended themselves for some time. At length, upon promise of quarter, they yielded, but when the rebels had got in among them they denied quarter: Whereupon Hudson being thrown over the batttlements, he caught hold of a spout or out-stone and hung there; but his hands being beat or cut off, he fell into the moat underneath, much wounded, and desir'd to come on land to die there. Whereupon one Egborough (servant to Mr. Spinks, the intruder into the parsonage of Castor belonging to the Bishop of Peterborough) knocked him on the head with the butt-end of his musket. Which being done, one Walker a chandler and grocer of Stanford, cut out his tongue and carried it about the country as a trophy. His body for the present was denied burial, yet after the enemy had left that place, he was by some Christians committed to the earth." In August, Hudson's remains were translated to Uffington, near Stanford, in Lincolnshire, where they were solemnly interred. Such was the end, in the thirty-third year of his age, of this reverend "father" of the Turf: famous as a horseman, faithful to his sovereign, when so many proved false, a rough and ready scholar, and a genial plain-dealing English

gentleman. Peace to his ashes: Honour to his name.* He is not even mentioned in any of our Biographical Works. Such is Fame.

In a comedy called the "Merry Beggars or Jovial Crew," 1641, it was spoken "shall we make a fling to London, and see how the spring appears there in Spring Gardens and in Hyde Park, to see the races, horse and foot?"

c. 1641. Charles I. Hyde Park.

Races in Hyde Park are referred to in an old satirical tract, entitled "A Character of England: as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Noble man of France," published in London, 1659, duodecimo, 66 pages. The writer attributes to the verdure of the country and the delicious downs in it, the pre-eminence it enjoyed in bowling-greens and race-courses.

c. 1659.

"About this time the Duke of Buckingham's Helmsley Turk, and the Morocco barb, were brought to England and greatly improved the breed of horses."—Lawrence, "History of Horse."

During the reign of Charles I. the dramatists of the period occasionally allude to the Turf. Thus in Shirley's comedy of "Hide Parke"† the *Dramatis Personæ* included jockeys, runners, riders, gamesters, pedestrians, etc. *In limine* the plot lay thus: Venture, Rider, and Fairfield are suitors to Mrs. Caroll, who treats them all with scorn; Fairfield comes to take leave of her, and requests

c. 1637. Charles I.

* State Papers, Dom., Car. I., et Interreg., MS., P.R.O.; A. Wood, Athæ., Oxon.; MS., Tanner, Bod. Lib., Oxon.; Cary's Memorials; Whitelocke's Memorials; Hudson's Narative; Hemingford, Tom. II.; Kennet; Sir William Dugdale's Diary; Sir James Turner's Memoirs; Lilly's Hist. of his Life and Times.

† "Hide Parke, A Comedie, As it was presented by her Majesties at the private house in *Drury* Lane. Written by *James Shirley*. London etc. 1637." etc.

her to grant him one boon at parting, which she promises with certain conditions. His request is that she would never desire to see him more, which makes her desirous to see him, and in the end they are married. Her character is written with great spirit. Mrs. Bonavent, whose husband is supposed to have been drowned in a shipwreck, marries Lacy; on the wedding day Bonavent returns. Tryer encourages Lord Bonvile to test his mistress's virtue; she is offended and breaks off the match, and at the conclusion willow garlands are made for Lacy, Tryer, and Rider. The scene is laid in London, and some of the acts take place in Hyde Park on the occasion of the races there both "horse and foot."

Incidental references relating to horse-racing are frequently interposed through the dialogues, which it is unnecessary to follow in detail, as an occasional quotation will suffice for our purpose. Thus in Act I we are told that a man of high birth, "next to a woman, he loves a running horse." In Hyde Park, Bonavent, Lacy, Mrs. Caroll, assemble just as a foot-race takes place between an Irish and an English footman, who are seen running across the stage, as usual in such contests in those days, nude :—"Hark what a confusion of tongues there is, let you and I venture a pair of gloves upon their feet; I'll take the Irish." The Irish footman leads and becomes a hot favourite in the betting, odds of 40, 50, and 100 to 10 being laid upon him, which, ultimately, he wins easily, amid the uproar of the public sufficient to wake the dead in the vaults of Westminster Abbey.

In the fourth act Lord Bonvile arrives upon the scene preparatory to the horse-race, in which he hopes to win 500 pieces. Presently the jockeys appear, Venture and Rider, when the following dialogue ensues :

Ven. He must be a Pegasus that beats me.
Ri. Your confidence may deceave you, you will ride
Against a Jockey, that has horse-manshippe.
Ven. A Jockey, a Jackanapes a horse-backe rather,
A Monkey or a Masty dogge would shew
A Giant to him, and I were *Alexander*
I would lay the world upon my Mare, she shall
Run with the devill for a hundred pieces,
Make the match who will. . . .

Itinerant musicians arrive among the spectators, when the following racing ditty is sung, in which the names of the favourite horses on the Turf are introduced :—

1.

Come, Muses, all that dwell nigh the fountain,
Made by the winged horse's heel,
Which firked with his Rider over each mountain,
Let me your galloping rapture feel :
I do not sing of fleas or frogs,
Nor of the well-mouthed hunting dogs.
Let me be just, all praises must
Be given to well-breath'd Iilian Thrust.

2.

Young Constable and Kill Deers famous,
The Cat, the Mouse, and Noddy Gray,
With nimble Pegabrig you cannot shame us
With Spaniard nor with Spinola :

Hill climbing white-rose, praise does not lack,
Handsome Dunbar, and Yellow Jack,
But if I must be just, all praises must
Be given to well-breath'd Iilian Thrust.

3.

Sure spurred Sloven, true running Robin,
Of young Slaver I do not say less,
Strawbery Soame, and let Spider pop in,
Fine Brackley, and brave lurching Bess.
Victorious too, was Herring Shotten
And Spit in his A**e is not forgotten.
But if I be just, all honour must
Be given to well-breath'd Iilian Thrust.

4.

Lusty Gorge and gentlemen, hark yet
To winning Mackerel, fine-mouthed Freake,
Bay Tarrall that won the cup at Newmarket,
Thundring Tempest, Black Dragon eak.
Precious Sweetlips, I do not lose,
Nor Toby with his golden shoes,
But if I be just, all honour must
Be given to well-breath'd Iilian Thrust.*

To resume. In the meantime, Lord Bonvile "is gone to see the horses weighed," and presently enter jockeys and gentlemen:

1 *Gent.* What dost thinke Jockey?
2 *Gent.* The crack oth'field against you.
Jockey. Let them crack nuts.
1 *Gent.* What weight?
2 *Gent.* I think he has the heels.

* No doubt these were popular equine celebrities at the time the comedy was written. How interesting it would be if we could ascertain the scenes of their triumphs.

3 *Gent.* But yet the start.
Jockey. How ever if I get within his quarters let me alone.
3 *Gent. Mounts Chevall.* [*Exeunt.*
Confused noise of betting within, after that a shout.
Ca. They are started.

Enter Bonvile, Rider, Bona, Try, Fairest.

Ri. Twenty pounds to fifteene.
Lo. Tis done we'e.
Fa. Forty pounds to thirty.
Lo. Done, Done, Ile take all oddes.
Tr. My Lord I hold as much.
Lo. Not so.
Tr. Forty pounds to twenty.
Lo. Done, Done.
M. B. You have lost all, my Lord, and it were a million.
Lo. In your imagination, who can help it?
La. Venture had the start and keeps it.
Lo. Gentlemen you have a fine time to triumph,
'Tis not your odds makes you win.
Within Venture, Venture. [*Exeunt men.*

The ladies, temporarily left to themselves while the gentlemen rushed off to see the finish, make bets of gloves and silk stockings. Then Lord Bonvile returns with the result, exclaiming:

Won, won, I knew by instinct,
The mare would put some trick upon him.
Great John at all adventure and grave Jockey
Mounted their several Mares, I shan't tell
The story out for laughing, ha, ha, ha,
But this in brief, Jockey was left behind,
The pitty and the scorn of all the odds
Plaid about my eares like cannon, but less dangerous,
I took all still, the acclamations was

For Venture, whose disdainful Mare threw dirt
In my old Jockey's face, all hopes forsaking us,
Two hundred pieces desperate, and two thousand
Oathes sent after them, upon the suddaine,
When we expected no such trick, we saw
My rider that was dominering ripe,
Vault ore his Mare into a tender slough,
Where he was much beholding to one shoulder,
For saving of his neck, his beast recovered,
And he by this time somewhat mortified,
Besides mortified, hath left the triumph
To his Olympic Adversary, who shall
Ride hither in full pomp on his Bucephalus
With his victorious bagpipe.
Here comes the Conqueror.

[*A Bagpipe playing, and Jockey, etc., in triumph.*

In that rare *brochure* "The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford, in the County of Lincolne," written by Richard Butcher, Gent., "sometimes Towne-Clarke of the same Towne," and published in London by Thos. Forchet, "dwelling in Old Fishstreet, in Heydon Court, 1646," we read: "As touching the ancient and publicke Sports used at this Towne they are not many; in all but two and to many by one. The one a sport savouring of Manhood and Gentry, and of a concourse of Noblemen and Gentlemen meeting together in mirth, peace, and amity, for the exercise of their swift running Horses evry Thusday in March. The prize they run for is a silver and gilt cup with a cover, to the value of seaven or eight pounds, provided by the care of the ALDERMAN for the time being, but the money is raysed out of the interest of a stock formerly

Charles I. Stamford. Lincolnshire. March.

made up by the Nobility and Gentry which are neighbours or well-wishers to the Town." (The other sport referred to is bull-baiting, established and endowed by William, Earl of Warren, in the reign of King John.)

"On Sunday night, the old Countess of Buckingham feasted both their majesties in her lodgings at Whitehall; and on Monday night my lord chamberlain* did the like at his lodgings at the Cockpit, after his extraordinary great winnings at a horse-race at Winchester."—Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., Lond., April 21, 1631.

1631. April. Charles I. Winchester.

"*Item.* That the cittie shall yearlie provide a cupp of the value of £24, to be runn for at the race uppon Wendesdaie in Easter weeke, accordinge to the Articles formerlie drawne."—Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester, by Charles Bailey, Town Clerk, p. 78.

1634. April. Winchester.

"*Item.* It is agreed by the said Assembly that Ralph Rigges, Esqre, Mayor of the said city, shall have security under the city seale to save him harmlesse for being engaged for the Race cupp, as shall be advised by the Councell of the said Mr. Mayor."—Bailey's Municipal Transcripts, p. 78.

1646. July. Winchester.

Henry, Lord Clifford, to Sir Jacob Astley.[157] "I sent away at night on Saturday to the Mayor of Berwick, who has

* Philip, Earl of Pembroke. "Court and Times of Charles I.," vol. i., p. 107.

Betting was evidently very heavy in England at this time. The Chevalier de Jarre received out of the Exchequer £3000, which he "won of the king at tennis."—*Ibid.*, p. 123.

His Majesty laid a 100 to 1, to 70 pieces, that the King of Sweden would die from the effect of wounds he received at the battle of Naumberg. He won, although "there are divers merchants upon the Exchange that offer yet to lay great wagers upon his life" (*Ibid.* pp. 203–211), see *post.*

prohibited the horse match intended, and (as I gather) made to the same pernicious end you conceived. I have given the Lord Marshal notice hereof, and delivered my opinion, which is, that since we discover evidently the ill neighbours of that town look with craft eye upon it, they being prevented in this, will soon hatch some other trick." . . .

1639. March. Charles I. Berwick.

Underwritten by Sir Jacob Astley:* "Hearing of their intended horse-race at Berwick, I desired Lord Clifford to write to the Mayor to forbid it, and they have done it. Newcastle, 12th March, 1638–9."

William Fenwick, Mayor of Berwick, to Sir Jacob Astley: "I received your letter and thank you for your respect for this poor town. The Scots for any thing I can perceive are still insolent in their ways, but they desisted from their horse-race in our bounds." Berwick, 21st March, 1638–9.

Robert, Earl of Essex, to Secretary Windebank: "Meeting with ill horses all the way, I got no further the first night than Granthan, where I found Sir William Howard; he told me the race was either the two or three and twentieth at Berwick, and that the Covenanters had got between the Marquis of Huntley and Aberdeen. Yesterday I met with William Keith, a Scotch gentleman. . . . He told me no such thing had been performed, only the Earl of Home's brother had made a match for ten dollars, but it was not run, and that no troops were as yet marched towards Aberdeen." York, March 23, 1638–9.—State Papers, Domestic, Charles I., vol. cccxiv., No. 91 ii. *Ibid.*, vol. cccxv., No. 11 i. *Ibid.*, No. 16. MS., P. R. O.

[157] The family of Astley, one of the most ancient and

* This Sir Jacob Astley was at this time Sergeant-General of the army in the North. The Earl of Essex, a man of strict honour, and extremely popular, especially among the soldiery, was appointed Lieutenant-General of this expedition against the Scots. The king himself joined the army, and he summoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court rather than of a military armament; and in this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwick.

honourable in England, intermarried with the royal Plantagenets. Some of the branches were ennobled; and three of the Astleys have been created baronets: the Astleys of Patshull, in Staffordshire; Sir Isaac Astley, Knight, of Hill-Norton, in Warwickshire, and Melton Constable, in Norfolk, created a baronet January 21, 1641, who died December 7, 1659, without issue by either of his wives; and Sir Jacob Astley, his nephew and heir, knighted by Charles II., and subsequently created a baronet June 25, 1660. Sir Jacob was heir to all the entailed estates of Jacob Astley, Lord Astley, through his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob, first Lord Astley. This Sir Jacob represented the county of Norfolk in Parliament forty years; and had been sheriff of that county in 1664. He married Blanch, eldest daughter of Sir Philip Woodhouse, Bart., by whom he had four sons and one daughter. Sir Jacob Astley died August 17, 1729, aged eighty-eight years. A Sir Jacob Astley owned race-horses in the reign of Charles I., when there were no less than three members of the family with the same Christian name frequently mentioned in the history of those stirring times. They all are referred to simply as "Sir Jacob Astley," without distinction; sometimes in the north, south, and midlands in various capacities; but it would be an undertaking too laborious for us to attempt to put the saddle on the right horse. As every one knows, the family is now worthily represented in the person of George Manners Astley, 12th Baron Hastings, one of the Stewards of the Jockey Club, owner and breeder of the winner of the Derby of 1885.

Lord Clarendon acquaints us, that in the year 1648, a meeting of royalists was held on Bansted downs—by which name the Epsom downs is occasionally referred to in old documents—"under the pretence of a horse race."*

1648. c. Charles I. Epsom.

It is remarkable to observe the persistency with which English noblemen and gentlemen adhered to

* Brayley's Surrey, by Mantel.

the national sport of horse-racing, even under the most adverse circumstances. We have already given instances where they indulged in this favourite pastime when either employed in foreign service abroad or while languishing in banishment from their native land. At the time now under review we find the Turf introduced into Holland, and read of horse-racing at the Hague.

1638. Charles I. The Hague.

Henry Verney, second son of Sir Edmund Verney, having been educated in Paris, acquired a knowledge of the French language to the great detriment of his mother tongue, was sent out, in the twentieth year of his age, to take his share in the wars of the Palatinate, together with one of the Sydenhams, several Turvilles, and others of the English volunteers who were friends and relatives of the Verneys. This employment was chosen for him by his father, and was little liked by himself. "I tell you truly," he says in a letter to his brother, "I doe not like it. I wod have you think it is not the firing of the boullots that fears me at all: but the true reson is, that I have always given my selfe so fer to the sports and plesurs of the world that I cannot giue my mind to this course of life; but to giue my father content and the rest of my friends also, I will tarry this somer in this country, for to learne the use of my armes, and to know the duty of a soger, that when I of, it shall bee for my credit and honnor. It shall not bee mee that will be indg of it, but my captaine. If hee say noe beliuet I will not come of: for I had rather louse my life then to come of to be laught at, or to be slighted by my

friends, which I doe think dous love mee." From this quaint epistle it is evident his heart was in the right place as to the obligations of his position, yet horse-racing was his particular *penchant*, and he found opportunities for indulging in it, even in an army on foreign service. Nothing was so acceptable to him as the Newmarket news of the day, nor any present so valuable as a bit or a saddle. He had great contempt for "your spruce courters, and such as think uppon nothing but goeing to playes and in making of uisits;" his mind was fixed upon winning cups. "I can right you no nuse," he says in another familiar letter, "but of a horsmache as it to be run yearely at the Hagge, for a cuppe of 50 pounds, as every officer gives yearly 20 shillings towards the bying of it. I hope to win it afore I die myselfe. I have rod but to maches cense I saw you, and haue won them both. I hope like wise to win the cup for the third."

Henry Verney's predilection for the field sports of his beloved England did not diminish his zeal in the service of the Dutch. He went through the campaign without reproach, and participated in the famous siege of Breda when it surrendered to the Prince of Orange, in October, 1637. Verney still remained in the service of the Dutch, and in the garrison at Breda. His fondness for horse-racing continued undiminished. In return for "a pladd and bitt, and all other furniture to itt," sent by his brother Ralph, he wrote another letter acknowledging those esteemed articles, and sure that his brother would be

glad to hear something that was of infinite gratification to himself, he continues, "I rod a mach, of six mile with a Dutch man for £50, and won it, but it was not for myselfe, but for a friend of mine." This, he adds, in allusion to a request for a horse which Ralph had thought better to decline, "this is to let you knowe, had you sent me a courser, it would not at all have made me more in love with rasing."

In the autumn of 1639 he obtained his lieutenancy. By this time he had become well satisfied with his profession, and had around him a knot of suitable companions, was friendly with his captain, one of the noble Veres, and seldom troubled his friends in England, except with an occasional request for a horse, and it seems circumstances eventually arose by which he probably attained his desire in that particular. Unfortunately, we can find no further account of this distinguished patron of the Turf, who pursued the "sport of kings," under such extraordinary difficulties. He subsequently returned to England, entered the army, became a colonel in the royal forces, and died unmarried.*

"Ascombe Moor,† near York, had races in the time of Charles I.

Charles I. York. Ascombe Moor; Black Hamilton. Tollerton.

Black Hamilton, or Hambleton‡ Hills, were long celebrated for such meetings."— "Historical Notes on Doncaster Races," by W. Sheardown, Esq.

* The "Verney Papers," edited by John Bruce, Esq., Camden Soc., vol. liv.

† Ascombe is two miles west of York.

‡ Hambleton is four miles south-west of Selby, in the west Riding.

"Veni Towlerton,* Stadiodriomi
Retinentes spem coronæ,
Ducunt equos ea die
Juxta tramitem notæ viæ ;
Sequens autem solitam venam,
Sprevi primum et postremum.

"Thence to Towlerton, where those stagers,
Or horsecoursers run for wagers ;
Near to the highway the course is,
Where they ride and run their horses :
But still on our journey went we,
First or last did like content me."

The preceding extract is taken from "Corymbæus Barnabæ Itinerarium, or Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys," etc. ; first published in London, n.d., *temp.* Charles I., in Latin and English. The author, Barnaby Harrington, mentions the Knavesmire, but does not refer to it as a race-course. However, he assures us it was a place of execution, and instances the case of John Bartendale, who was hung there, cut down, buried, exhumed, pardoned, turned hostler and lived very honestly after ! †

* Tollerton is a township and parish in the north Riding, and $9\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the city of York.

† A positive fact. See the particulars in Allen's "History of York."

BOOK X.

HORSES AND HORSEBREEDING, 1625–1659—THE TURF SUPPRESSED BY THE CROMWELLIANS.

The royal studs and stables—Masters of the Horse to the King and Queen—The governor of the Prince of Wales—The avenor and officers of the stable and races—The royal stud at Tutbury—List of the principal racehorses belonging to the King in 1643—Description, names, and value—Proposal for the sale of the royal stud in 1649—Six of the King's horses presented to General Jones by the Parliament—His victory over the Duke of Ormond's forces in Ireland—Vicissitudes of the Tutbury stud during the Commonwealth—Its sale deferred—Further proceedings—The custodian in trouble—Investigations by the sequestrators—Appointment of a commission to investigate the affairs of the stud—The custodian dismissed—His successor—Six of the best horses presented to the Protector—Another sale projected—Proceedings thereon—Decision of the Council to disperse the stud—Lord Grey to have first choice *ad valorem*—Sale of the remainder in 1651—Futile endeavours of the Duke of York to save the stud—Ineffectual exertion of Charles II. to obtain some of the best horses—Reputation of Tutbury stud—Visited by Prince Ludwick in 1636—Who is entertained by the corporation of Leicester—*The Earl of Denbigh—Sir Henry Mildmay—Lord Colepeper—The Earl of Salisbury—Lord Edward Howard—Lord Grey—Viscount Lisle—Sir Arthur Haselrigg—Sir William Constable—Sir Gilbert Pickering*—Definition of the word "race"—Equine lore—Horses—The Duke of Newcastle's book—Written at Antwerp during his exile—His fame on equine subjects—His great ability as a horseman—Is visited by distinguished potentates—His appreciation of Spanish blood—His stud at Antwerp—Breeding under difficulties—His famous grey hunter—Reminiscences—Gives a list of the most celebrated horses on the English turf—Attributes

their superiority to their eastern descent—The royal studs at Cardona and Andalozia—The high price of Spanish horses—He disparages the barb—Spurious breeds—Lord Montague's barbs—Their career on the turf—Recommended by the duke for racing—Description of a jockey of the period—Other equine strains referred to—The courser of Naples—Arabian horses—Enormous prices given for some—The Markham Arabian—His failure on the turf—Other foreign breeds—The English thoroughbred—How descended—Famous horse fairs—Lord Poulett's stud—Alleged neglect of horse-breeding in England during the Commonwealth—Revival at the Restoration—Superiority of English brood-mares—Description of such as were adapted for the turf—Barb stallions—Sir John Fenwick's celebrated racing and breeding establishment—Its extent—The father of the turf—Superiority of barbs for breeding racers—*William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle—Sir John Fenwick*—Appreciation of English horses on the Continent—Bell-horses—Plating racehorses—A stud advertised for sale—Gaming—The turf during the Interregnum—1650. Racing prohibited—1651. Proceedings thereon in Parliament—Projected meetings suppressed—1654. Further action by Parliament—More meetings forbidden—1655. Orders in Council—Copy of Cromwell's proclamation to prohibit horse-races—Ulterior proceedings—1656. More orders to suppress race-meetings—1659. The subject again and for the last time before Parliament—Bill to restrict gaming—Racing at Newcastle—Parliamentary proceedings thereon—Oliver Cromwell as a turfite—His White Turk and his Coffin mare—His early career at Cambridge and London—His predilection for rural sports—Cause of the suppression of the turf—Arabian horses imported by Cromwell—Cromwell's stud seized by the Crown at the Restoration—His horses, "said to be the best in England," sent to the royal mews—His son, Richard.

Shortly after the accession of Charles I., James, Marquis of Hamilton, was appointed Master of the Horse to the King, George, Lord Goring held a similar, but subordinate office, to the Queen, while William Cavindish, Marquis of Newcastle, was nominated Governor to the Prince of Wales. These noblemen were among the most expert horsemen of the day, and notable for the magnitude and superiority of their studs. Attached to the king's studs there were two Supervisors of the Races, namely, Sir

c. 1629.

William Powell and Sir George Marshall. Among other officers in this department, P. Poys, Esquire, was the Avenor. There were 16 esquires, 2 clerks of the avory, 2 sergeant farriers, 6 supervisors of the stable, 1 clerk of the stables, 3 marshall farriers, 1 yeoman of the sturrup, 5 yeomen riders, 10 yeomen footmen, 9 yeomen purveyors, 5 yeomen granitors, 1 yeoman of the races—Thomas Freeman—2 yeomen of the race—Thomas Green and Gregory Julian—1 yeoman saddler, 2 yeomen of the close carriage, 4 yeomen farriers, 2 yeomen bit-makers, 1 yeoman packman, 3 yeomen coachmakers, 3 grooms of the battle horses, 6 groom coachmen, 6 groom littermen, 2 groom saddlers, 2 grooms of the carriage, 4 groom farriers, 46 groom coursers, 17 grooms of the hunting stable, 2 child riders—William Ankein and Gracous lez Herls—2 custodians of the stables, 1 custodian of the riding house, and 2 grooms of the coursers' stables. In the queen's stables, there were employed 76 persons in similar capacities, in which 96 horses and 33 hackneys were annually maintained.*

In connection with the royal stud we learn from a warrant issued under the Privy Seal, dated December 16, 1637, that pursuant to a certificate under the hand of the Earl of Denbigh, Master of the Wardrobe, "there remayned then due to Mary Shakespeare widdow and Executrix of John Shakespeare our late bitmaker deceased the full some of one thousand six hundred fower-score & twelve poundes eleaven shillings for sondry parcells of Wares by the said John Shakespeare made & delivered for our service in our 'stables.'" These arrears due to the widow Shakespeare were now,

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cliv., No 77 ; *Ibid.*, vol. ccclxxiv., No. 3.

by virtue of this warrant to the Lords of the Treasury, ordered to be paid to her "or her assignes in full of the said debt, which is to be discharged in the office of our Wardrobe, and then to be received without Accompt, imprest, or other charge to be sett vpon her or them for the same." * This John Shakespeare was first cousin to "the Poet of all Time," the immortal Bard of Avon.

We are unable to say precisely when the royal stud at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, but it must have been some time prior to July, 1643, as on the 23rd of that month four Government commissioners, viz., Mildemay, Lemprière, Carteret, and Grafton arrived at Tutbury, for the purpose of making a true inventory of the racehorses kept there, "being part of the late king's personal estate." Four days after the date of their arrival the inventory was completed, and was duly signed and sealed by each of those inquisitors. Apparently the work was done in a slovenly and careless manner, and it is probable serious mistakes were occasionally committed by the commissioners in confusing the names of the stallions with those of the animals enumerated in the catalogue, and *vice versâ*. This inventory, or catalogue, is most interesting; it consists of 100 lots, comprising 23 mares and their foals, 15 mares four years old and upwards, 16 three-year-old fillies and colts, 17 two-year-old fillies and colts, 22 yearling fillies and colts, and 23 horses four years old and upwards; 139 head, all told. No specific mention of any stallion occurs in the inventory (except, as in some cases it may be inferred,

* Privy Signet Bills, *sub dato.*, MS., P. R. O.

that the name of the stallion, and not that of the lot, was intended to be given), hence it is probable that the sires were removed and kept at some other place at the time this inventory was taken. A valuation of each lot is given—the whole amounting to £1982, or an average of not quite 14 guineas per head.

There is no doubt whatever that many of those lots were immediately descended from the Digby and Villiers Arabs previously referred to, of which the latter had been imported by James I. towards the latter end of his reign. Let us take a few instances: (Lot 5) "Black Morocco. One Black mare with a few white haires in the forehead, 5 yeares old, with a horse foale, £22." (Lot 9) "Morocco. One brown bay mare with a starre, two white heels behind, 12 yeares old, with a horse foale, £25." (Lot 24) "Young Morocco. One bay mare without white, 4 yeares old, with a horse foale, £16." (Lot 35) "Black Morocco. One black mare without white, 10 yeares old, £10." (Lot 52) "Morocco. One browne bay horse with a little starr, 5 yeares old, £30." Here we see the same name given to lot 9 and lot 52, the former a 12 year old mare, the latter a 5 year old horse, by which it is evident that the stallion, and not the name of the lot in the inventory (as in a modern Tattersall catalogue), was intended to be given. "Browne Newcastle" likewise precedes lot 6 and lot 22, the former a "browne bay mare without white, 6 yeares old, with a mare foale, £15;" and the latter a "browne bay mare without white, 7 yeares old, with a mare foale,

£23." The highest valuations in the catalogue were put upon the produce of Rupert, an Arab stallion belonging to the Villiers "race," lots 53, 64, 66, and 69 in rotation, which are described as follows: "One bright bay horse, with a starr and a snip, 4 white feete, black list downe the back, 4 yeares old, £35. One browne bay [horse] without white, 4 yeares old, £35. One browne bay horse, 4 yeares old, with a starre, £25. One bright bay horse with a black list, and one white foote, £25." It is evident some of Sir John Fenwick's famous Arabian "race" were introduced into the royal racing stud, as we find lot 25 is entered thus: "Sorrell Fennick, one Sorrel mare with a blaze, 9 yeares old, with a mare foale, £18." So also with the celebrated Arab stud maintained about this time, and subsequently after the Restoration, at Welbeck Abbey by the Duke of Newcastle, as indicated by lots 2, 3, 6, 18, 22, 26, 59, 61, 96, 98, and 99, from which we may infer (taken with other corroboratory evidence) that the royal mares in King Charles's stud were occasionally served by stallions belonging to those notable breeders in the seventeenth century. Upon the whole, this inventory, though imperfectly and carelessly drawn up, proves that the principal, and probably the subordinate lots at the royal stud, immediately prior to the year 1643, were derived from and represented in the Arab blood which was deemed indispensable by the best breeders of those days. As to the yearlings, the two-year-old and the three-year-old colts and fillies, from lot 36 to lot 49, no reference is made to either sire or dam,

the colour, marks, age, and valuation of each lot only being recorded. But lots 68 and 72—the former a three-year-old grey colt, valued at £12, the latter a three-year-old bay colt, valued at £15—were got by Frisell, a son of the Markham Arabian. (Frisell is also mentioned as the stallion of lot 14—"a bright bay mare, with a streake, 12 yeares old, with a horse foale, £22.") The other yearlings, two and three-year-old colts and fillies, from lot 73 to lot 95, are simply described and valued, without any clue of their names or parentage being given. It is unfortunate that these omissions should have occurred, particularly as the sequestrators, by a little trouble and inquiry, could have obtained the necessary information from Mr. Gregory Julian, who, as yeoman of the stud, was still in office, although the Marquis of Hamilton, and many of the officials previously mentioned, had ceased to exercise their several duties at ex-royal haras. It may be, however, that the omissions to which we have referred as occurring in the two contemporary transcripts of this inventory which we have had access to—one in the Record Office, the other in the Victoria Tower, House of Lords—are supplied in another manuscript preserved among the Marquis of Salisbury's manuscripts at Hatfield, which we have not seen.

Such was the state of Charles I.'s stud at Tutbury when the subjoined inventory was finished, July 27, 1649. Prior to this date, however, a bay horse, 3 years old, and a black horse, 5 years old, by Newcastle, had been "taken up" by Quarter-Master

Tomlinson. These were returned to the stud, and figure in the inventory at a valuation of £30 each. Colonel Sanders obtained two black horses, 5 years old, and a bay mare "with a tanned mussell, 8 years old, with a mare foale," which remained in his custody, the horses being valued at £20 each, and the mare and foal at £16.

A true Inventory of all the Horses belonging to Titbury Race being part of the late kings personall estate taken July 24, 1643.

Charles I. et Interregnum. The Royal Stud at Tutbury. 1643–1651. 1643.

Spaniard (1)	One bright bay Mare without any white 7 or 8 years old, with a Mare foale	21 : 00 : 00
Bay Newcastle (2)	One bright bay Mare without white 7 yeares old with a Mare foale	16 : 00 : 00
Grey Newcastle (3)	One white gray Mare 6 yeares old with a horse foale	17 : 00 : 00
Fantus (4)	One brown bay Mare without white 15 or 16 yeares old with a mare foale	12 : 00 : 00
Black Morocco (5)	One black Mare with a few white haires in the forehead 5 yeares old, with a horse foale	22 : 00 : 00
Browne Newcastle (6)	One browne bay Mare without white 6 yeares old with Mare foale	15 : 00 : 00
Lenox (7)	One white Mare 10 yeares old with a horse foale	12 : 00 : 00
Grey Lenox (8)	One Grey Mare flea bitten with a white nose 12 yeares with a Mare colt	22 : 00 : 00

Morocco (9)	One brown bay Mare wth a Starre two white heels behind, 12 yeares old, with a horse foale	25 : 00 : 00
(9a)	One black Mare without white 7 yeares with a horse Colt	15 : 00 : 00
Bay Fielding (10)	One Iron Grey [*sic*] Mare with a white Streake in her face, 6 yeare old with a horse foale	28 : 00 : 00
Black Barrett (11)	One black Mare with a starre 18 yeares old, with a horse foale	12 : 00 : 00
Frisell (12)	One bright bay with a starre 12 yeares old: with a Marc foale	18 : 00 : 00
Fant-Whitenose (13)	One browne bay with a starre, a snip on her nose, 15 yeares old with a Mare foale (*sic*)	15 : 00 : 00
Frisell (14)	One bright bay Mare with a streake 12 yeares old with a horse foale	22 : 00 : 00
Browne bay Cottington (15)	One browne bay Mare dappled with white, 14 yeares old with a Mare foale	20 : 00 : 00
Carlton (16)	One Grisled mare with a halfe Moone in her forehead with a horse foale	25 : 00 : 00
Grey Sould^r^. (17)	One Grey flea bitten Mare 5 yeares old with a mare foale	14 : 00 : 00
New Castle (18)	One black Mare with a Starre a white nose and three white feete 5 yeares old, with a Mare foale	16 : 00 : 00

Lenox (19)	One Sorrell Mare with a blase two white feete, 5 yeares old with a horse foale	18 : 00 : 00
(20)	One browne bay Mare without white, 4 yeares old	20 : 00 : 00
(21)	One white Mare 4 yeares old wth a balled Nose	15 : 00 : 00
Browne Newcastle (22)	One browne bay Mare without white. 7 yeares wth a Mare foale	23 : 00 : 00
Frisell Longlegs (23)	One bright bay Mare with a starre and two white feete. 13 yeares old with a horse foale	20 : 00 : 00
Young Morocco (24)	One bay Mare without white, 4 yeares old with a horse foale	16 : 00 : 00
Sorrell Fennick (25)	One Sorrell Mare with a blaze, 9 yeares old with a Mare foale	18 : 00 : 00
New-Castle (26)	One browne bay Mare, a balld face 3 white feet. 8 yeares old	19 : 00 : 00
(27)	One light bay Mare with a Starre, 5 yeares old	22 : 00 : 00
(28)	One bright bay Mare without white, a black List, One Eye. 4 yeares old	14 : 00 : 00
(29)	One bright bay Mare with a white speck in the middle of the face. 3 white heeles. 3 yeares old	25 : 00 : 00
(30)	One bright bay Mare without white 4 yeares old	25 : 00 : 00
Broad-brest (31)	One flea bitten Mare with a raw nose. 20 yeares old	10 : 00 : 00

Fantus (32)	One browne bay Mare wth a Starre. 14 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
Frockett (33)	One dapple grey Mare 10 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
Carelton (34)	One black Mare with a Starre. 12 yeares old	18 : 00 : 00
Black Morocco (35)	One black Mare without white. 10 yeares old	10 : 00 : 00
(36)	One bright grey filly with a Starre. 3 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
(37)	One Iron Grey filly with a raw nose and a white foote behind. 3 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(38)	One bright bay filly without white. 3 yeares old	16 : 00 : 00
(39)	One bright bay filly without w^{te}. 3 yeares old	16 : 00 : 00
(40)	One bay filly with a blase and a white foote behind 2 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(41)	One black filly with a Starre 2 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(42)	3 bay fillyes 2 yeares old at £14 a peice	42 : 00 : 00
(43)	One grey filly 2 yeares old	14 : 00 : 00
(44)	One bay bald filly 2 yeares old	14 : 00 : 00
(45)	2 gray one yeares old	16 : 00 : 00
(46)	One Dunn filly one yeare old	8 : 00 : 00
(47)	One Yellow filly one yeare old	8 : 00 : 00
(48)	2 Bay fillies one yeare old	16 : 00 : 00
(49)	2 black fillies one yeare old	16 : 00 : 00
(50)	One bright bay mare with a Starre and a white heele	20 : 00 : 00

Fantus (51)	One dun Horse with a black tayle and mane, a starre and a white speck one the nose. 6 yeares oulde	20 : 00 : 00
Morocco (52)	One browne bay horse with a little starre 5 yeares old	30 : 00 : 00
Rupert (53)	One bright bay horse with a starr and a snip 4 white feete, a black list downe the back. 4 yeares old	35 : 00 : 00
Lenox (54)	One Sorrell horse with a Starre and a Snip 5 yeares old	30 : 00 : 00
(55)	One bright bay horse wth a Starre a Snip and 4 white feete fiue yeares old	18 : 00 : 00
Bowland (56)	One black horse with a starre & two white feete behind 5 y^{rs} old	35 : 00 : 00
Bowland (57)	One white gray horse 5 yeares old	20 : 00 : 00
Fielding (58)	One bright bay horse without white Stiff in his Limbs 5 y^{rs} old	14 : 00 : 00
Newcastle (59)	One black horse with a Starre 4 white Feete 6 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
(60)	One grey Fleabitten horse with a Club foote 4 yeares old	14 : 00 : 00
New Castle (61)	One black horse without white 5 yeares old	30 : 00 : 00
(62) (*sic*)	One dark Grey 4 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(63)	One Iron Grey horse with a Cloud in the face 4 yeares old	30 : 00 : 00

Rupert (64)	One browne bay without white 4 yeares old (*sic*)	35 : 10 : 00
(65)	One browne bay horse with 2 white feete of a side 4 yeares old	25 : 00 : 00
Rupert (66)	One browne bay horse 4 yeares old with a Starre	25 : 00 : 00
(67)	One bright bay horse with a blase and one white foote before	25 : 00 : 00
Frisell (68)	One white Colt 3 years old	12 : 00 : 00
Rupert (69)	One bright bay horse with a black List and one white foote	25 : 00 : 00
(70)	One bright bay Colt with a little Starre and two white feete behind. 2 yeares old	12 : 00 : 00
(71)	One bay Colt with a bald face 4 white feete wall eyd 3 yeares old	11 : 00 : 00
Frisell (72)	One browne bay Colt one white foote behind 3 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
(73)	One bright bay Colt with a Starre 3 yeares old	25 : 00 : 00
(74)	One bright bay Colt with a Snip and a white foote behind a black tayle and maine 3 yeares old	20 : 00 : 00
(75)	One black Colt inclining to Grey 2 yeares old	23 : 00 : 00
(76)	One bright bay Colt with a Starre and a foote white behind 3 yeares old	22 : 00 : 00

(77)	One browne bay Colt with a Starre and a white foote behind 3 y^rs old	20 : 00 : 00
(78)	One browne bay Colt with a Starre one white foote behinde 3 yeares old	25 : 00 : 00
(79)	One bay Colt blind of one Eye 2 white feete behinde 3 yeares old	14 : 00 : 00
(80)	One bright bay Colt wth a Starre one wall Eye and white foote behind 2 years old	16 : 00 : 00
(81)	One bright bay Colt with a balld face one wall Eye and a raw nose 3 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
(82)	One bright bay Colt with a starre 3 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(83)	One dark Grey Colt with a Mealy nose 2 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(84)	One dark Grey Colt with a Starre 2 white feet behind white & mealy nose 3 yeares old	14 : 00 : 00
(85)	One Iron Grey Colt with two white feete behind 2 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
(86)	One dark Grey Colt without white 2 yeares old	20 : 00 : 00
(87)	One Grey Colt with a white nose raise downe the face 2 white feete behind 2 yeares old	20 : 00 : 00

(88)	One bright bay Coult a few white haires in the face one white foote behind 2 yeares old	17 : 00 : 00
(89)	One bright bay Colt with a blase 2 white feete behind 2 yeares old	16 : 00 : 00
(90)	One Grey Colt with white feete behind 2 yeares old	15 : 00 : 00
(91)	3 bright bay Colts one yeare old	30 : 00 : 00
(92)	2 browne bay Colts one yeare old	20 : 00 : 00
	5 Grey Colts one yeare old	50 : 00 : 00
(93)	1 Sorrell Colt a yeare old	10 : 00 : 00
(94)	2 black Colts a yeare old	20 : 00 : 00
(95)	1 Sorrell Colt a yeare old	10 : 00 : 00
New Castle (96)	One bay horse with three white feete 5 years old	30 : 00 : 00
(97)	One black horse without white 5 yeares old	30 : 00 : 00
	Both these were taken up by Quarterm[r] Tomlinson but now are with the rest in the Custody of Mr. Gregory Julian, Yeom : of the Race.	
New Castle (98)	One black Horse with a white foote behinde 5 yeares old	20 : 00 : 00
New Castle (99)	One black horse of the same marke and age	20 : 00 : 00
(100)	One bay Mare with a Tannd Mussell 8 yeares old with a Mare foale	16 : 00 : 00

Those 3 last mentioned were taken up formerly by Colt. Sander's Order and now are in his Custody.

S^m^ Total £1982 : 00 : 00

A. MILDEMAY. Seal

N. CEMPRIERE. Seal

PH. CARTERET. Seal

RAPH GRAFTON. Seal

Endorsed: An Inventorie of Y^e^ Race of Horses at Titburie 27° Julij 1649.

Countersigned: *Inventorie of ye Horses at Tutburie.**

Interregnum. 1649. Tutbury. The Royal Stud.

The inventory of the ex-royal stud at Tutbury was under the consideration of the Council of State at Whitehall, on the 31st of July, 1649, when it was decided that in consequence of the great destruction of horses during the late wars, and that the said Race was the only place in England by which provision could be made of a good breed, and that the profits derivable from the land and the sale of the stock then there would not equal what it amounts to in the way it was then used,

* State Papers, Dom., 1640, June—Sept., vol. ii., No. 55 (97-102), MS., P. R. O.

they determined the sale of such horses to be forborne until further consideration.* The next thing we hear of it was when the House of Commons, on August 29, passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Jones on the occasion of his recent victory over the forces of the Duke of Ormond in Ireland, coupled with a pension of £1000 a year to him "and his heyres for ever in Ireland;" and "six of the best horses in Titbury race to be selected and sent to him, as a gratuity from the House."† This draft was duly selected and sent to Ireland, and it is a singular fact that some years afterwards, five of these half dozen royal stud barbs were acquired by the Earl of Thomond, by whom the strain was carefully preserved, which doubtless accounts for the many victories won by the racehorses owned and bred by the O'Briens in England and Ireland after the Restoration, and on to the beginning of the present century.

On the 22nd of October those in charge of the stud were ordered to attend the Council, to report on its condition, and receive instructions,‡ and a month later the Earl of Denbigh,[158] Sir Henry Mildmay,[159] and Mr. Holland were appointed to examine Gregory Julian concerning the state of that Race. §

In the meantime the Duke of York (afterwards King James II.) wrote from Brussels, November 12, 1650, to Sir E. Nicholas, ex-Secretary of State, desiring him to move Lord Colpeper[160] to supply

* State Papers, Interregnum, vol. xciv., p. 384.
† The Earl of Leicester's Journal, p. 81.
‡ State Papers, Interregnum, vol. lxiii., p. 162.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

the necessary funds to defray the cost of maintaining the stud; and to preserve three of the best horses therein for the king's use. His Royal Highness also wrote to Lord Colpeper as follows: "My Lord, the Kinges [Charles II.] horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Ma^ty^, and cannot be sold to their worth: therefore I desire that you would laye downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kinges honor may be preserved, and the best of ye horses still kept for ye Kinges use: wth wch I am sure his Matie wilbe well pleased."* Unfortunately, the wishes of the Duke of York proved ineffectual, and were not carried out on this occasion, but at the sale of Sir Arthur Haselrigg's stud in 1659, Lord Colepeper purchased several lots of the "Tutbury race," which he presented to the king soon after the Restoration, and these were sent to the royal stud at Hampton Court, where the horses of Cromwell, seized by the Crown, were already located.

On Christmas eve the Committee of Sequestrations were directed to examine the delinquency of Gregory Julian, and the surveyors to examine the trust reposed in him, and to find some other place where those horses may be kept in order to preserve the breed.†

On the 7th of January, 1650, the Council ordered Gregory Julian to be sent down to Tutbury, to look to the Race, and answer the charge made against him

* Evlyn's Diary, ed. Lord Braybrooke. Appendix.
† *Ibid.*, p. 424.

by the surveyors, who were to proceed with their charge against him, and to certify thereon;* and on the 31st "the business of Tutbury Race" was to be considered "next Saturday," when the trustees for sale of the late king's lands were to attend.†

On the 30th of March the Earl of Salisbury,[161] Lords Howard,[162] Lisle,[163] and Grey,[164] Sir William Armyne, Sir Arthur Heselrigge,[165] Mr. Bond, Colonel Morley, Sir H. Mildmay, Sir W. Constable,[166] and Mr. Scott were nominated by the Council to consider how the horses and mares at the Race "may be so disposed that the breed be not lost."‡

On the 8th of June Gregory Julian, "late Yeoman of the race at Tutbury," was discharged from that employment, and the whole business of the Race committed to Major Edward Downes.§

On the 2nd of July, Lord Grey, Sir William Armyne, and Sir Gilbert Pickering[167] were nominated to make choice of six horses for the Lord General, out of the horses that are come from Tutbury Race, and to consider how the rest "both here and at the race," may be disposed of, and "likewise to take care that those who bought the horses are paid their expenses."‖ The following day the committee above mentioned were directed to appoint some person "to offer for sale to-morrow all the colts which were brought up to the Mews, except those chosen by the Lord General, and to take a note of the price offered for each horse; and that being done, to return the horses to the stable,

* *Ibid.*, Nos. 10, 11. † *Ibid.*, p. 575. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lxiv., p. 138.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. lxiv., p. 431. ‖ *Ibid.*, 499.

and the account to the Council, that further order may be given therein."*

On the 14th of September the Council of State decided that "the horses, mares, and coults at Tutbury be put up for sale before the winter;" and Lieut.-Colonel Downes was to propound the best manner of putting them up to sale, to the best advantage. †

On the 10th of October Colonel Morley, Viscount Lisle, and Mr. Challoner were appointed to consider the returns made concerning Tutbury Race, and the offers for buying the same.‡

On the 9th of December it was decided for Major Downes "to put off the horses and mares at the Race at the best rates he can, and Lord Grey to be furnished with as many as he desires, paying as much as others, provided it be no prejudice to their sale; a letter to be written to him to that purpose."§

On the 6th of January, 1651, the Council of State ordered that "the money paid for the horses, colts, and mares of Tutbury Race be paid to Mr. Frost, to be disposed of by Council, and Lieut.-Colonel Downes to be paid by Mr. Frost the money laid out by him for the said horses and colts."‖

1651.

Tutbury. 1636. The royal stud at Tutbury was visited by Prince Ludwick in August, 1636:

"Vppon the twelft daie of August 1636, Loudoucius, Prince Palgrave of the Rhyne, did dyne at the Angell in Leicester, comeing from our Royall King Charles, who was then at Tutburye, to go to Honebye,

* *Ibid.*, 502. † *Ibid.*, vol. x., p. 8. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xi., p. 21.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv., p. 59. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., p. 6.

where the Queene then laye, and the Mayor, Recorder, and most of the fower-and-twentie went thither and presented vnto him a banquet presentlye after the meate was taken from his table, which cost xxiii[li] and something more, and three gallons of clarrett, and three gallons of white wine which was verye kindely accepted by the Prince, and M[r] Maior and his brethren most curteouslye vsed by him."—Records of the Corporation of Leicester.

[158] Basil Fielding, 2nd Earl of Denbigh, eldest son of Sir William Fielding, Knight, who was created December 30, 1620, Baron and Viscount Fielding, of Newnham Paddock, Warwickshire, and Earl of Denbigh, September 14, 1622. On the breaking out of the Civil War, Lord Denbigh, adhering faithfully to Charles I., performed the part of a stout and valiant soldier in many engagements, but was at length mortally wounded in a sharp skirmish near Birmingham, April 3, 1643, and died a few days afterwards, when he was succeeded by his son Basil, the 2nd Earl. This nobleman espoused the opposite side to that of his father in the Civil War; and at the battle of Edge Hill, the Earl fought under the royal banner, while his son, Viscount Fielding, had a commission in Essex's army, and was in the right wing of the Parliament's horse, which broke the left wing of the king's cavalry. The 2nd EARL OF DENBIGH was subsequently one of the most eminent of the Parliament's military commanders, and afterwards took an active part in the administrative affairs of the Commonwealth; but eventually concurring in the restoration of the monarchy, he was created, February 2, 1663-4, Lord St. Liz, with remainder to the heirs male of his father, in commemoration of his descent from the noble family of St. Liz, Earls of Northampton and Huntingdon. His Lordship married, 1st, Lady Anne Weston, daughter of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer of England; 2nd, Barbara, daughter of Sir John Lamb, Knight; 3rdly, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Bourchier, Earl of Bath; and 4thly, Dorothy, daughter of Francis Lane, Esq., of Glendon, Northamptonshire, but dying *s. p.* November, 1675, his honours reverted to his kinsman, the 2nd Earl of Desmond and 3rd Earl of Denbigh.

[159] Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight, was a younger brother of Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Moulsham Hall, Essex, who was knighted July 23, 1603, created a Baronet June 29, 1611, and who died without surviving issue February 13, 1625–6, when the family estates in Essex reverted to Sir Henry, member of the Council of State during the Interregnum, above mentioned, who seems to have chiefly resided at Woodham-Walter, county Essex. He died in 1654.

[160] John Colepeper (Lord Colpeper), was the son of a knight of the same name, living at Wigsell, in Sussex; and he spent some years in foreign parts, doing good service as a soldier, and reputed to be of great courage, but of a rough nature, his hot temper leading him too frequently into quarrels and duels. After his marriage he became very tractable, and was elected member of Parliament for Kent, in the Long Parliament. Charles I., sensible of his value, admitted him to the Privy Council, and on January 6, 1642, made him Chancellor of the Exchequer. After the royal standard had been set up at Nottingham, Colepeper was one of the bearers of the king's message to the Commons, with an offer to treat, so as to prevent the effusion of blood and the miseries of civil war. He must have anticipated the answer, from the manner in which he was received in the House. They would not permit him to take his seat as a member, but obliged him to deliver his message at the bar, and then withdraw. On January 28, 1643, he was promoted to the Mastership of the Rolls. He took it as adding to his dignity and profit, without regard to its accustomed duties, for in those troubled times there was less need of lawyers than of counsellors and soldiers. As a counsellor, he was used on the most private occasions, and was added to the junto, which, as a cabinet council, attended to the king's affairs; as a soldier, he was ever by the king's side, and took part in all his battles with the most distinguished bravery. In reward for these services, the king, on October 14, 1644, created him a peer, by the title of Lord Colepeper, of Thoresway in Lincolnshire, and named him of the council of the Duke of York. In the calamitous events which fol-

lowed, Lord Colepeper was zealously and actively engaged in trying to serve the king and the royal family, so much so that it excited the jealousy of Prince Rupert, who was strongly prejudiced against him. When Prince Charles became king by the tragic death of his father, he sent Lord Colepeper to Russia on a begging mission, which resulted in the Czar granting the prince £50,000 "in rich commodities." At the Restoration he accompanied the king to England, and resumed his place of Master of the Rolls; but he was not destined long to enjoy it, for within little more than a month after his landing he was seized with an illness, of which he died on July 11, 1660.

[161] WILLIAM CECIL, 2nd EARL OF SALISBURY, was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners of the Great Seal for less than four months. His grandfather was the renowned Lord Burleigh, and his father was Robert Cecil, the sapient minister of Queen Elizabeth and James I., who, after serving both sovereigns, and after passing through the two lower grades of the peerage, was created Earl of Salisbury in 1605. On his death, in 1612, this William succeeded, but did not do much credit to his lineage. At first, the obsequious servant of his sovereign, he concurred in every act proposed by the court, and attended Charles I. when he retired in his troubles to York, joining the peers in signing the declaration, that the king had no intention to take warlike measures. Soon after, without any apparent reason, he fled the court, deserting the king's party for that of the Parliament, and forming one of the small knot of lords who legislated at Westminster. Though totally without credit with either party, he was appointed a commissioner of the Great Seal, July 3, 1646. The Parliament, however, withdrew their confidence from him and the other commissioners on October 30, and placed the Seal in the custody of the Speakers of the two houses. On the decapitation of Charles I., Salisbury allowed himself to be nominated one of the Council of State, and, as if this was not sufficient degradation, he got himself, on the abolition of the House of Lords (to which he greatly con-

tributed), returned as a member of the House of Commons for Lynn, in Norfolk, in September, 1649. After being expelled with the rest by Cromwell, in 1653, he joined the Rump at its meeting in 1659, to be again expelled and again restored. A transcript of the inventory of the royal stud at Tutbury was made for his special use, which is still preserved among the state papers and family archives of the Cecils at Hatfield. "His insignificance," says Mr. Fosse, "probably saved him, on the restoration of Charles II., who probably thought that the contempt which all men felt for the degraded earl was a sufficient punishment." He died December 3, 1668.

[162] Sir Edward Howard (Lord Howard) — seventh son of Lord Thomas Howard, who had been created Earl of Suffolk in 1603—having derived the barony of Escrick from his mother, Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Knevitt, and heir of her uncle Thomas, Lord Knevitt, of Escrick, was elevated to the peerage April 12, 1628, as Baron Howard of Escrick. Lord Clarendon attributes Sir Edward Howard's rise at court to the Duke of Buckingham, who "made him a Baron." Previously, he had an appointment in the household of the Prince of Wales (Charles II.). Afterwards withdrawing himself from the court, he attached himself to the interest of the party most adverse and obnoxious to the court. During the civil war he filled several posts under the Parliament. He was a member of the Council of State, was nominated Keeper of Hyde Park, but that appointment was not confirmed by the Commons, it having been conferred by them upon the Earl of Warwick. On May 5, 1649, by a resolution of Parliament, it was declared, "that Edward lord Howard being newly chosen and returned a burgess or citizen for the city of Carlisle be now admitted into this House as a member of this House upon the new election." He entered on his duties, apparently, in full determination to make the most of his new position, and take a prominent part in the affairs of the Commonwealth. Whitelock notices that "for an hour" the Earls of Pembroke

and Salisbury and Lord Howard, of Escrick, were declared to be members of all committees of which they were before the House of Lords was abolished. In June, 1651, Lord Howard of Escrick having been found guilty of bribery and corruption was dismissed the House, and for ever disabled to sit in any future Parliament; disqualified to bear any office or place of trust under the Commonwealth; fined £10,000, and committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the Commons. This severe sentence, however, was remitted on the following year, and the prisoner passed the remainder of his life in a state of unenvied obscurity. He died in 1675, and was buried in the Savoy churchyard, London. Lord Braybrooke (Hist. Audley End), Mr. Charles Howard of Greystoke (Hist. Anecdotes of the House of Howard), Banks (Dormant and Extinct Baronage), and Sir Bernard Burke (ditto), attribute to this lord the betrayal of the celebrated patriots, Lord William Russel and Algernon Sidney (see under head of Newmarket Spring Meeting, 1683), whereas it was his second son, Lord William Howard of Escrick, who earned for himself the reprobation of posterity through the fatal evidence he gave in that *causes célèbre*.

[163] Philip Sydney, VISCOUNT LISLE, or L'Isle, member of the Council of State at this date, was eldest son of Sir Robert Sydney, 2nd Earl of Leicester. He succeeded to the family honours and estates on the death of his father in 1677. This nobleman was, in the lifetime of his father, a zealous Republican, and during the Commonwealth one of the Protector's council, with a salary of £1000 a year. He had been from his youth trained up as a diplomatist, attending on his father to the States-General, and the courts of Denmark and France. He died in March 1697–8, and was succeeded by his son, Robert Sydney, the 4th Earl.

[164] Thomas Grey, LORD GREY of Groby, who was a member of the Council of State at this date, was grandson and heir of Henry Grey, 2nd Baron Grey of Groby, created Earl of Stamford, county Lincoln, March 26, 1628. He, dying in 1673,

was succeeded by Thomas Grey, 2nd Earl of Stamford, who died in 1720 without male heirs, when all the family honours reverted to his cousin.

[165] Sir Arthur Haselrigg, Bart., eldest son of Sir Thomas Haselrigg, Knight, created a Baronet July 21, 1622, and Frances, daughter and heir of Sir William Gorges, of Alderston, Northamptonshire, married, 1st, Frances, daughter of Thomas Elmes, Esq., and 2ndly, Dorothy, sister of Robert Grenville, Lord Brooke. Sir Arthur, being a Presbyterian, espoused the Parliamentary cause with great warmth and energy. He soon distinguished himself, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, in opposing the king's lofty pretensions to prerogative. Lord Clarendon in his "History of the Rebellion," introduces him as "an absurd, bold man," and the tool of Mr. Pym, at whose instigation he preferred a Bill in the House of Commons for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford for high treason. However, Sir Arthur Haselrigg, notwithstanding this insinuation, had sufficient influence to direct the action of others; for Sir Edward Deering presented a Bill for "the utter eradication of bishops, deans, and chapters," under his direction. Sir Arthur also brought in a Bill for settling the militia, which, at the time, was considered an exceedingly bold measure. He was one of the five members whom the king's attorney general accused of high treason, which event fully established his popularity. During the Civil War, he joined Sir William Waller at the head of 500 cuirassiers, which, on account of their bright armour, were called the "Lobster Regiment." They were the first troops so armed on either side, and the king's horse was found totally unable to withstand their charge. Nevertheless, this fine regiment was routed, and Sir Asthur Haselrigg wounded, at the battle of Roundway Down, in consequence of the imprudence of the Parliamentary general who commanded. For these services Sir Arthur was, in 1647, appointed Governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was then considered an office of great trust. In the same year the common council presented him with a silver bason and ewer, of the value of £30, for his services in obtaining a grant from

Parliament for repairing the town's wall. On August 11, 1648, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lilburn, the deputy governor of Tynemouth Castle, declared for King Charles; on which Sir Arthur despatched a brigade of foot and a hundred dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ashfield and Major Cobham, with orders to storm the castle instantly. This was gallantly effected; and Lilburn being slain, his head was cut off, and set upon a pole. Coals this year rose to an exorbitant price, when the governor of Newcastle was blamed for laying a tax of 4*s.* per chaldron on coals, which was estimated to produce £5000 per annum. In 1649 he was admitted a burgess of Newcastle. When Oliver Cromwell was inaugurated Lord Protector, he signed a new instrument of Government, whereby three members were assigned for the county of Northumberland, and but one for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In pursuance of this plan, Sir Arthur Haselrigg was chosen to represent Newcastle in the Parliament that met September 3, 1654. Previous to the meeting of this Parliament, the Protector created him a lord, and called him up to the House of Peers; but he chose rather to take his seat in the House of Commons. But though Cromwell honoured and employed him, yet he was well known to be one of his most inveterate enemies, and in Parliament headed the opposition to his government. When Lambert opposed the sword to the authority of Parliament, Sir Arthur boldly moved his impeachment in the House of Commons; and while the former was assembling his forces in Newcastle to oppose Monk, in the latter end of 1659, Sir Arthur Haselrigg, accompanied by Morley, took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the Parliament. When the ships of war in the Thames joined to oppose the military usurper, Sir Arthur returned to London, where he was actively employed in inducing several regiments to revolt again to the side of constitutional authority. But the ascendency acquired by Monk was too great for the power of the Commons; and when Sir Arthur saw that the restoration of the king was certain, he offered to deliver up to the successful traitor his two regiments, as to the governorships of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Tynemouth, and Berwick, which he then held, on condition

of having his life spared, and his estate preserved. This was assured him, when he retired from public life, devoting his talents to rural affairs and breeding thoroughbred horses. He was friendly with Monk, and had encouraged him to march against Lambert, promising to make a diversion in his favour; and before the wary royalist had declared himself, his intimacy and frequent conferences with Sir Arthur excited the doubts and jealousies of the king's friends. The royalist party has represented him as "haughty, imperious, precipitate, vainglorious, without civility, without prudence, qualified only by his noisy, pertinacious obstinacy to acquire an ascendency in public assemblies." But this revolting picture is evidently over-charged, being not relieved by a single moral virtue. However, Sir Arthur's actions show him to have been a bold, active, and determined man. He was a staunch republican, and like most of the leaders of that party, possessed of capacity and experience; but he may have erred in advocating some of the measures identified with his stirring life. Sir Arthur Haselrigg was very opulent. He made such extensive purchases of land, belonging to the see of Durham, sold by order of Parliament, that he acquired the soubriquet of "Bishop of Durham." His riches, political connections, and military command, rendered him one of the most influential men in the north of England. Among other possessions he held Woodstock Park, where he kept and bred his thoroughbred horses, some of which were derived from drafts obtained at the dispersal of the royal stud at Tutbury. Sir Arthur's stud at Woodstock was sold off in November, 1659, as appears from the following advertisement, which is probably the first announcement of the sort that ever appeared in a newspaper:—"*Advertisement.* These are to give notice, that it is resolved by Sir *Arthur Hesilrigg*, to sell all his Horses, Geldings, breeding Mares, stoned Colts, Fillies and Foals, that are now at *Woodstock* Park in *Oxfordshire;* and that the Fourteenth day of *November* next coming is the first day on which Sir *Arthur* intends to begin the sale"—Mercureus Politicus. October $\frac{20}{27}$, 1659, No. 592. Sir Arthur died the following year.

[166] SIR WILLIAM CONSTABLE, son and heir of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, Yorkshire, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Widdrington, Knight, and relict of Sir Roger Fenwick, Knight, who for his services under the Earl of Essex (A.D. 1599) in Ireland, received the honour of knighthood. Being involved in the subsequent proceedings of that nobleman, he was arraigned for high treason, but remanded without trial, on a special letter from Queen Elizabeth, that he and others were unwarily drawn in. On the 20th of March following he had her Majesty's warrant to Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, to be admitted to bail. Sir William was created a baronet by James I., June 29, 1611, and served in Parliament to the time of his decease. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and became an enthusiastic upholder of the liberty of the subject, and being imprisoned on account of the detestable and illegal shipmoney, adopted a decided part against the king. He was a colonel in the Parliamentary army, and his name appears in the warrant for the execution of Charles I. He died during the Interregnum, June 15, 1654–5, and thus escaped personally the resentment of the restored monarch; but his lands, etc., were especially exempted in the general pardon granted by Charles II., as likewise all pains, penalties, etc., as though the act of grace had never passed. Having no issue the baronetage at his decease became extinct.

[167] Probably one of the PICKERINGS of Whaddon, county Cambridge; the manor having been bought, in 1648, by Henry Pickering, Esq., created a baronet in 1661; the title became extinct by the death of Sir Henry, the second baronet, in 1705; his widow sold the manor of Whaddon, in 1716, to Edward, Lord Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, of whom it was purchased by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. The manor house of Whaddon, which had been the seat of the Pickerings, was pulled down early in the present century.

The word "race" does not in all cases apply to the modern interpretation of the term "race-course."

James I. Horses. "Race."

Relatively, and under certain conditions, it relates to the Turf, but in many instances refers to a particular breed, or race, of horses, euphemistically race-horses. The stud or farm where they were kept was styled a race:—thus, Tutbury Race, Cole Park Race, Malmsbury Race, etc. *Race*, Cursus, "a strong or rapid current of water, or the channel or passage for such a current, as a Mill-race," *vide* Webster's Dictionary. Thus Portland Race, applying in each case. "A race (for Men and Horses to run in) Stade, Race. A Horse-Race, Carriere," *vide* Randle Cotgrave's French-English Dictionary, by Howel, fol. 1650. "Rese, reuse, Gigas, à verbo rijsen, id est, in altum surgere." —Joan. Beccan. Killiani Etymology, Teut. Ling, 4to, 1777. At Shap, in Westmoreland, there were two rows of upright stones, placed at regular distances, running parallel with the high road for nearly three-quarters of a mile, called the Shap Race, and possibly may derive its name from having been a British or Roman *Cursus*.

Charles I. Horses.

In the introduction to the second edition of his work on Horses, etc., the Duke of Newcastle, in a prefatory address to his readers, adverts to his long exile at Antwerp, "One of the finest cities in the World," whose inhabitants he found famous for hospitality to strangers, and acknowledges to have received a great many civilities whilst there during his compulsory sojourn. At this time he "published in French, a Book on Horse-manship; and having again, since my Return to my Native Country

had much leisure, in my solitary Country Life, to recollect my Thoughts, and try new Experiments about that Art; I now, for the more particular Satisfaction of my Country-men, Print this second Book in English, which being neither a Translation of the first, nor an absolutely necessary Addition to it, may be of use itself, without the other, as the other hath been hitherto, and is still, without this; but both together will questionlessly do best."

He mentions how, during his residence in Antwerp, he had the honour to receive there visits from many "Noble great Persons, who did him the honour to see his manage," * among whom Don John of Austria, accompanied by Lord Bristol, "many noblemen of Flanders, as the Duke of Ascot," is mentioned as having been attracted to see his horses and his exemplification of equitation. This *séance* excited the admiration of the beholders, one of whom declared that his grace's horses were such "that they wanted nothing of reasonable creatures but speaking." When assured by the Marquis of Seralvo what horse he admired most, the duke replied, "There were Good

* *Manage*, from the French *menager*, to carry on, to conduct; hence a careful housewife is called "a good manager," and a careless one "a bad manager." Manage, as applied to horses, signifies the graceful government of a horse. Shakespeare has—

"Speak terms of *manage* to the bounding steed,"

and Young has—

"They vault from hunters to the *managed* steed."

Sir John Beaumont, in an ode on the birth of Charles Villiers, Earl of Coventry, first son of George, Duke of Buckingham, who died an infant, March 17, 1627—

"To courtly dancing now he should decline,
To *manage* horses, and in arms to shine!"

and Bad of all Nations; but that the *Barbes* were the Gentlemen of Horse-kind, and *Spanish* Horses the Princes. Which answer did infinitely please the Spaniards: *And it is very true,* That Horses *are so as I said.*"

After giving incidents and recording and describing the accomplishments and points of some of the favourite horses he kept at Antwerp, his grace continues: "As poor as I was in those days, I made shift to buy, at several times, four Barbes, five Spanish Horses, and many Dutch Horses,* all the most Excellent Horses that could be; and among them a Grey Leaping-Horse, the most beautiful that I ever saw; and who went exceeding High and Just in Leaps, without any Help at all; as also upon the Ground and Terra a Terra, beyond all other Horses; and he did look as if he had been above the Rate of Horse-kind. The Duke of Guise hearing of him, Two Gentlemen, a French-Rider, and an Englishman, wrote to me, That if I would part with him, the Duke of Guise would give me 600 Pistolls for him; but he was Dead three days before I receiv'd their Letter; and had he Liv'd, I would not have taken

* "My Lord finding his Company and Charge very great, although he sent several of his servants back again into England, and having no means left to maintain him, was forced to seek for Credit; where at last he got so much as would in part relieve his necessities; and whereas heretofore he had been contented, for want of a Coach, to make use of a Waggon, when his occasions drew him abroad, he was now able (with the credit he had got) to buy a Coach and nine Horses of an Holsatian breed; for which Horses he paid £160, and was afterwards offer'd for one of them an hundred Pistols at Paris, but he refused the money, and presented seven of them to Her Majesty the Queen-Mother of England, and kept two for his own use."—Life, by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle.

the money for him; for he was above Price: And besides, I was then too great a Beggar, to think to be made Rich by the Sale of a Horse; I have bestow'd many Thousands of Pounds in Horses, and have given many; but never was a good Horse-Courser; Selling being none of my Professions."

This gallant grey was well-known and admired by Charles II., whose horsemanship the Duke lets no opportunity pass without extolling. "When I was His Governor," he says, "I had the Honour to be the first to Sate Him on Horse-back, and did instruct Him in the Art of Horsemanship; it is a great Satisfaction to me, to make mention here of the Joy I had then, to see, That His Majesty made my Horses goe better, than any Italian, or French-Riders (who had often Rid them) would do; and to hear Him say, That there are very few that Know Horses; Which was knowingly said, and wisely judg'd of His Majesty: It being very certain, That all Men undertake to Ride them, but few know them, or can tell what they are good for."

It does not come within our province here to attempt any description of the scope of the Duke of Newcastle's great work, the greater portion of which is now obsolete, and pertains to the marvellous evolutions peculiar to modern "military tournament," rather than to the field. He describes and criticises the authors of equine literature to his own time; is eloquent on the advantages of the manage then swiftly becoming a discarded accomplishment; sings the praises of some famous horsemen with whom he

was personally acquainted at home and abroad, and vouchsafes a great deal of equine lore in which we are not particularly interested. However, in his "Observations of Horses" the duke puts the Spanish horse before all other breed or race, asserting that it is the best for the manage, for war, for ambling, for hunting, and for racing. In proof of its superlative qualities he mentions the following famous "running-horses" of his time (an interesting and unique list, would that he recorded their achievements on the Turf!) all of whom were Spanish steeds, viz.:—Conqueror, Shotten Herring, Butler and Peacock (mare). "All these," he adds, "Beatt all the Horses in their Time, so much, as No Horse ever Ran near them."

The Duke boldly asserts that the Spanish stallion is the best in the world, and advises the owners of appropriate mares to breed from that strain; he describes the magnitude and extent of the royal studs at Cordova in Andalusia, as well as other "excellent races, not only of noblemen, but also of private gentlemen" in that country; where 300 or 400 Pistols for a horse was a common price: "And the Marquis of Seralvo told me," continues his Grace, "That a Spanish Horse, called Il Bravo, sent to the Arch-Duke Leopold, his Master, was held Worth as much as a Mannor of a Thousand Crowns a year, and that he hath known Horses at Seven Hundred, Eight Hundred, and a Thousand Pistols."

The Duke of Newcastle speaks disparagingly, almost with contempt of the Barb. He does not appear

to have had much practical knowledge of this breed, and cautions his readers to be on their guard, in case they contemplated any purchases, lest they be deceived by the substitution of spurious animals by the dealers in them in those countries about Marseilles, then the principal market for such horses. "When I was in Paris," he continues, "there came Twenty Five Barbs (as they say) nothing but Skin and Bones, and they were Sold for Twenty Five Pistols a Horse: My Lord Viscount Montague[168] bought Nine, as I Remember; for I was with him, and helpt to Chuse some for him, and one of them did Win *Many Matches:* But truly if I had a Million, I would not have Bought one of them, for they were very Ordinary Horses; Nor do I think they were Right Barbs, neither by their Shape, nor Price, but Bred in some Islands there-a-bouts; for, if a Man be at Great Charges, I would either have an Extraordinary Horse, or None." In another place the duke gives a meed of praise to the Barb, but only as a race-horse, which he unfavourably compares with those of the useful and strong Frison breed. If handicapped, he assumes, the latter might prove the better animal, "for the Barb's Wind serveth to no Purpose, when his Strength is not able to Carry his Weight: And thus the Barb will want his little Light Jockey on him, with a couple of Trenchers for a Saddle, and a Lute String in his Mouth for a Bitt."

[168] Probably Sir Edward Montagu, K.B., who was elevated to the peerage June 29, 1621, as Baron Montagu of Broughton, county Northampton. This nobleman is characterized "as a person of a plain, downright English spirit; of steady

courage, a devout heart; and though no Puritan, severe and regular in his life and manners. That he lived amongst his neighbours with great hospitality; and was very knowing in country affairs, and exceedingly beloved in the town and county of Northampton. That he was no friend to changes in either church or state; that when the civil wars began, he was brought prisoner to town by the parliament party, and confined in the Savoy; where he died in the eighty-second year of his age, *anno* 1644." His lordship was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Edward Montagu, 2nd Baron Montagu of Broughton, who died January 10, 1683. He also, was a notable turfite during the reign of Charles II.

The horses of Denmark, Holland, and Germany are represented by the Duke of Newcastle as peculiarly adapted for the coach, the cart, and the plough.

The Courser of Naples, though formerly famous, had, at the duke's time, degenerated through neglect in transmitting the pure strain; "but they Began now to Repair it, and he Hoped within Fourteen Years it may be Established as formerly it hath been."

As to Arabian horses, his grace seems to have had very little practical knowledge or experience. He merely refers to the reputation of the breed; that some of those horses were bought at £1000, £2000, and £3000 each, which he apostrophises "an Intollerable, and an Incredible Price;" that they were exceedingly careful in breeding and recording the pedigrees of their famous studs; and that the only Arab horse he ever saw was that bought from John Markham by King James I., which he terms a poor specimen, and when trained was unsuccessful on the Turf.*

* The Archbishop of Canterbury, writing from London, November 9,

Passing by the duke's allusions to the Hungarian, Polish, Swedish, and Turkish horses ("the most beautiful in the world"), we finally arrive at his grace's comments upon the English horse, which is "the best Horse in the whole World for All Uses whatsoever, from the Cart to the Mannage; and some are as Beautiful Horses as can be any where, for they are Bred out of all the Horses of all Nations." The famous horse fairs were those of Malton, Ripon, Lenton, Rowel, Harborow, Melton, Northampton, and Pankridge.* "I am very Ignorant of the West-Country, where my Lord Pauletts Ancestors had a good Breed of Horses; and by Chance, now and then my Lord of Pembroke did Breed, but I never heard of any Rare Horse of his Race. In Worcestershire, and in the Vale of Esam, there is good Strong Cart-Horses; in Cornwall there is good Naggs, and in Wales excellent good Ones; but in Scotland the Gallowayes are the Best Naggs of them all."

Prior to the Civil War, the duke tells us there were many good breeds in England, which were ruined during the Commonwealth, but that since the Restora-

1637, to Lord Deputy Wentworth, says (*inter alia*) that an ambassador had just arrived from the Emperor of Morocco with certain valuable presents for the king, including "four Barbary horses." Wentworth in reply expressed hopes that good might come of the embassy, that he might have an opportunity of sending to Sallee "a little barque to bring me back a Barbary horse or two."—"Letters and Despatches," vol. ii., pp. 129, 138. It is impossible to distinguish the characteristic peculiarities of the so-called Barbs and Arabian horses in vogue at this time. There is no precise authority on the question. Doubtless they were all commonly classed as "Spanish," and of Eastern blood.

* The fame of these fairs is Latinized by Drunken Barnaby in his "Journeys."

tion "the Probability of getting Good Breeds again, is very Great." The English mares were the best in the world to breed from, provided due care was taken to select those proper to the purpose which it was intended to effect. "If you would have Mares to Breed *Running-Horses* of, then they must be *Shaped* thus; As *Light* as possible, *Large* and *Long*, but well *Shaped*; a *Short Back*, but *Long Sides*, and a little *Long Legged*; their *Breast* as *Narrow* as may be, for so they will *Gallop* the *Lighter* and *Nimbler*, and *Run* the *Faster*; for the Lighter and Thinner you *Breed* for *Galloping* is the Better. Your *Stallion*, by any means, must be a *Barb*, and somewhat of the *Shape* that I have Described the *Mares* to be of: For a *Barb* that is a *Jade*, will Get a better *Running-Horse*, than the Best Running-Horse in *England*: As Sir *John Fennick* * told me, who had more Experience of *Running-Horses* than any Man in *England*; for he had more Rare *Running-Horses* than all *England* besides; and the most part of all the Famous *Running-Horses* in *England* that ran one Against another, wer of his *Race* and Breed." In conclusion his grace adds: "Some Commend the *Turk* very much for a Stallion to *Breed* Running-Horses; but they are so Scarce, and Rare, that I can give no Judgment of them: And therefore I Advise you to the *Barb*, which, I believe, is the Better Horse to *Breed Running Horses*.

The Earl of Chesterfield † paid a visit to the Duke

* Sir John Fenwick; but written by the duke as the name was then pronounced.

† Born 1633, died January 28, 1713.

of Newcastle's stud some time after the Restoration, when his grace presented that polished courtier with a horse, which the earl acknowledged in the following letter: "I was much surprised at the favour I received from your grace by Mr. Eagle, for though it is hard to see a stable of the finest horses in the world, and not to covit, yet upon my word I was not guilty of that sinn, but am since fallen into a much greater by being extremely proud of the honour your grace has done mee; and truly, my lord, (though your grace's generosity is known in most parts of Christendom as well as England,) I had no designe in commending the horse your grace was pleased to send mee, for which I doe return your grace my most humble acknowledgments, and shall allwaies endeavour, by greatest respects, to deserve the title of, my Lord, your, etc. "C." **Charles I.**

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, earl, marquis, and afterwards DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, unlike his voluminous duchess, only wrote a few comedies and occasional poems and his celebrated work on horses. The latter is supposed to have been written in English, and translated into French by a Wallon, and first published at Antwerp, by Jacques Van Meurs, in 1658: "Methode et Invention Novvelle De Dresser Les Chevavx." It was afterwards condensed and partly re-written and published in English, by Thomas Milbourn, of London, in the year 1667: "A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses, and Work them according To Nature: As also, To Perfect Nature by The Subtilty of Art; which was never found out, but by the Thrice Noble, High, and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe, Marquis, Earle, &c. &c." In this edition the magnificent engravings, illustrating the text of the original volume, were not reproduced; but they are all

inserted (with some additions) in Brindley's reprint, published by him, in London (2 vols.), 1743.

Passing for the present from the book to its author, we learn from the "Life of the Duke," written by his duchess, that his grace was second son of Sir Charles Cavendish; that the date of his birth does not transpire; that he was bred by his uncle Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury; that he was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took more delight in sports than learning; that at the age of fifteen or sixteen he was made a Knight of the Bath, and soon after went to travel with Sir Henry Wooton, when the latter was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, with whom he was so great a favourite, that on his departure from the ducal court, his highness presented him with some valuable presents, amongst which was "a Spanish horse."

Shortly after his return to England, the duke, who was about twenty-two years of age at that time, married the daughter and heiress of William Basset of Blore, Esquire, "a very honourable and ancient family in Staffordshire, by whom he added a great part to his estate;" when he chiefly lived in the country, dispensing hospitality, and promoting rural sports, "onely now and then he would go up to London for some time to wait on the King," (James) by whom he was created Viscount Mansfield and Baron of Balsover.

On the accession of Charles I., the duke was constituted Lord Warden of Sherwood Forest, and Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire; a similar honour having been bestowed upon him on the death of his cousin William, Earl of Devonshire, when the Lord Lieutenancy of Derbyshire became vacant. His appointment as Groom of the Bedchamber to the king, and the peculiar circumstances connected therewith, are recorded elsewhere. However, no such scandal is attached to Newcastle's appointment in 1638 as governor to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), about which time he was made a Privy Councillor, and for three years he was seldom in the country, being constantly in attendance on the court, "not without considerable charges, and vast expences of his own." When the rebellion in Scotland broke out, the duke

lent the king £10,000, raised a volunteer regiment of horse, maintained without cost to the crown during the campaign, at the head of which he joined the royal forces at Berwick.

His grace distinguished himself during the Civil Wars by his devotion to the cause of Charles I., the zeal he displayed in raising troops, and the ability with which he conducted the desultory military operations in which he was opposed to the army of the Parliament. The king constituted him general-in-chief over all the forces raised north of the Trent, and in several English counties empowering him at the same time to confer the honour of knighthood, to coin money, and to issue any declarations he thought expedient—powers which the duke is said to have used with great moderation. In April, 1644, he made a successful movement for the relief of York; but the advantage gained through his skill was thrown away by the rashness of Prince Rupert, who, contrary to his advice, risked the battle of Marston Moor. Seeing that the royal cause was lost, the Duke of Newcastle made his way to Scarborough, and took shipping for Hamburgh, from whence he removed to Amsterdam and Paris, and finally to Antwerp, where he spent the remaining years in exile. He was soon reduced to the last extremity of distress, pawning his clothes for a dinner, while the Parliament were levying enormous sums upon his estates. His losses were estimated at upwards of £941,000, for which some compensation was made to him on his return to England at the Restoration, when he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcastle. But he was now too old to take any leading part in public affairs, and retiring into the country, he devoted the rest of his life to rural pleasures and study. He died in December, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

As may be gathered from the following epigram, by Ben Jonson, the Duke of Newcastle was one of the most skilful horsemen of his time. He also excelled in fencing, an accomplishment which Jonson has also celebrated ("Underwoods" "An Epigram to William, Earl of Newcastle"):—

> When first, my lord, I saw you back your horse,
> Provoke his mettle, and command his force

To all the uses of the field and race,
Methought I read the ancient art of Thrance,
And saw a centaur, past those tales of Greece,
So seemed your horse and you both of a piece!
You showed like Perseus upon Pegasus,
Or Castor mounted on Cyllarus;
Or what we hear our home-born legend tell,
Of bold sir Bevis and his Arundel:
Nay, so your seat his beauties did endorse,
As I began to wish myself a horse:*
And surely, had I but your stable seen
Before, I think my wish absolved had been;
For never saw I yet the Muses dwell,
Nor any of their household, half so well.
So well! as when I saw the floor and room
I looked for Hercules to be a groom;
And cried, Away with the Cæsarian breed!
And these immortal mangers Virgil fed.†

Shadwell says that the duke "was the greatest master of wit, the most exact observer of mankind, and the most accurate judge of humour that ever he knew." His grace was twice married, but had issue only by his first lady. His body lies interred, with that of his duchess, under a most noble monument at the entrance into Westminster Abbey, with an inscription suitable to his merits. His titles descended to his son Henry, Earl of Ogle (who, in a modified form, carried on his father's famous stud at Welbeck Abbey); he was the last heir male of this family, and died July 26, 1691, in whom the title of Newcastle, in the line of Cavendish, became extinguished, but his daughters married into some of the noblest families of this kingdom.

Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, and second wife of William, first Duke of Newcastle, was born at St. John's, near Colchester, Essex, about the end of the reign of

* An allusion, probably, to the passage in Sir Philip Sidney's "Defence of Poetry," where, speaking of Pugliana's discourse upon horses, he says, "If I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse."

† Alluding to the circumstance of Virgil having been employed in the stables of Augustus, and having his accustomed allowance of bread doubled for the judgment he gave of a colt the emperor had just bought.

James I. Her father, of whom she was the youngest daughter, was Sir Charles Lucas, a gentleman of a very ancient and honourable family, and who was himself a man of great spirit and fortune. Dying young, he left the care of his children to his widow, a lady of exquisite beauty and admirable accomplishments, who took upon herself the education of her daughters, and instructed them in needle-work, dancing, music, the French tongue, and other things that were proper to women of fashion. In 1643, Margaret obtained permission from her mother to go to Oxford, where the court then resided, and where she could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception, on account of the distinguished loyalty of her family, as well as of her own accomplishments. Accordingly she was appointed one of the Maids of Honour to Henrietta Maria, the royal consort of Charles I., and in that capacity accompanied her Majesty to France, when the queen was obliged, by the civil war, to quit England. At Paris, Miss Lucas first saw the Marquis of Newcastle, then a widower, who, admiring her person, disposition, and ingenuousness, was married to her in that city, in 1645. After their marriage, the Marquis and Marchioness of Newcastle went from Paris to Rotterdam, where they resided six months, and from that to Antwerp, which they fixed upon as their place of residence during the time of their exile. The exigency of their affairs obliged the marchioness to go into England, with a view to obtain some of the marquis's rents, in order to supply their pressing necessities, and pay the debts they had contracted; but she could not procure a grant from the rulers of those times, to receive one penny out of her noble husband's vast inheritance: and had it not been for the seasonable generosity of Sir Charles Cavendish, she and her lord must have been exposed to extreme poverty. At length, however, having obtained a considerable sum from her own and the marquis's relations, she returned to Antwerp, where she continued with him till the Restoration, and employed herself in writing several of her works. On her return to England the remaining part of her life was principally employed in composing and writing letters, plays, poems, philosophical discourses,

orations, and the life of her husband, for which purpose she kept a number of young ladies about her person, who occasionally wrote as she dictated. Some of them slept in a room contagious to that in which her grace lay, that they might be ready at the call of her bell to rise at any hour of the night, to take down her conceptions, lest they should escape her memory. At a subsequent period, these and similar eccentricities obtained for the duchess the *soubriquet* of "Mad Madge." She died January 7, 1674.

Among the Turfites of the early Stuart era Sir John Fenwick—as we learn from the Duke of Newcastle—was the most conspicuous. A century prior to this period the Fenwicks of Northumberland were seated at Wallington House; and Leland, in his survey of 1542, describes it as consisting of "a strong tour and a stone house of thinherytance of Sir John Fenwyke in good reparacons." In the English Baronetage, printed by Wooton in 1740 it is termed "a mansion house"; but according to a tradition of the Trevelyan family it was more probably a villa venatica. Some of the old tower still remains in the turning-room near the north-west corner of the house; and in the walls of the cellars, many stones with gothic mouldings for door ways and mullions of windows remain as evidences that the stone-house of the Fenwicks, which was appended to the tower, was not without its decorations. The Fenwicks certainly made it their chief residence for many ages, and kept up in it the profuse and jovial hospitality of their times in so high a style as to have made it the subject of convivial songs, and many traditionary tales of fun and frays that happened there after a hard day's chase. The old hospitality of the house could not, however, be supported after frequent residence in London, and the profligate habits of the court of Charles II. began to make demands upon the rental of the estate; and it is not improbable that the same cause which led to the sale of the property of this once powerful family, had also a hand in leading the last of its owners to his ignominious end. When the hope of patronage and reward for a wasteful and extravagant attention to the court of one prince, became extinguished by a hostile

successor of opposite views and interests mounting the throne, it is not to be wondered that disappointment and revenge should advise desperate means of escaping from ruin. In exchanging owners, the place, however, had none of its former magnificence abated. An old rhymester, alluding to the festal habits of the place, and the re-building of it says—

> "The wine of Wallington old songsters praise,
> The Phœnix * from her ashes Blacketts raise."

But to return to the famous Turfite, Sir John Fenwick, Knight of Wallington, who was thirty-five years old on the 14th of September, 1614, when the inquest after the death of his father, Sir William Fenwick, was taken, and from whom he inherited Fenwick, East Matfen, Wallington, Camboe, and many other manors, royalties, etc. He sat in Parliament for Cockermouth and for the county of Northumberland, once in the reign of James I. and six times in the reign of Charles I., which last named king, in 1628, created him a baronet. As a member of the House of Commons in the Long Parliament, his loyalty was so conspicuous that with some other members he was, on the 22nd of January, 1643, discharged and disabled from sitting and being any longer a member of the House during that Parliament, for deserting the service of the House, and being in the king's quarters and adhering to that party. He died about the year 1658, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, who died in 1676. The fate of his son and heir, Sir John Fenwick, the last of this branch of the family, was as above stated. He was Stud Master to Charles I., with a salary of £200 a year. A collateral descendant of Sir John Fenwick now carries the horn in the Tynedale county.

"If you give your horse the bridle, he'll carry you to Wallington"—a proverb in the north of England, with reference to the hospitalities of Wallington, by which it is implied that the Fenwick kindness extended not only to man alone, his beast also partook of a well-filled rack and manger.

* Alluding to the Fenwick crest which is a bad pun upon the name. The last of the old Fenwicks was beheaded on Tower Hill, January 27, 1697, when the property passed to the Blacketts.

The intimate associations between the Fenwicks and Newmarket gave rise to the following nursery rhyme in the north of England:

> "Fenwick of Bywell's away to Newmarket;
> Away to Newmarket, away to Newmarket.
> Fenwick of Bywell's away to Newmarket,
> And he'll be there before we get started."
> Denham's "North of England Folk-Lore," pp. 12–18.

Marshal de Bassompierre, in his memoirs of his embassy to England in 1626, occasionally refers to the superiority of the English horses, and records having received some of them in presents, gifts, etc., from the king and the high officers of state during his sojourn. About the same time he mentions that English thoroughbreds were first introduced into France. "The court," says he, "being at Fontainebleau, it was the practice to play for large and serious sums; and the circulation being extremely brisk, the courtiers called the counters, which represented money, *Quinterots*, because they pass and repassed from one player to another, with as much celerity and rapidity as *the English horses were known to run*: they were called *Quinterots*, from the name of the person who had brought them into France the year before." He further observes, "that English horses were so much admired for their speed, that they have since that time, been always employed in hunting, and on the road; a practice till then unknown." Bassompierre had been in England in Elizabeth's reign, and could speak authoritatively on the subject. He was a heavy gambler, and is said to have won at play, "though dis-

Charles I. 1626. Appreciation of English horses on the Continent.

tracted from it by a thousand follies of youth and love," upwards of 500,000 livres in one year. He was confined in the Bastille for seven years, for having refused to dine with Cardinal Richelieu, when he beguiled the tediousness of his prison by writing his Memoirs.

Towards the conclusion of Charles I.'s reign, it appears that the English method of keeping and managing their horses was thought so judicious, that France, and other neighbouring countries, thought proper to imitate or copy it.

Bell Horses.—"The last set of Bell Horses either seen or heard of in the N. of England, were kept by the late Charles Michell, Esq. (of eccentric memory), of Forcett Hall, near Richmond. Although it must be now more than xl. years since I last saw those horses, in their handsome trappings, pass through Piersebridge, I can nevertheless fancy that I still hear the music of their bells tingling in my ears. These bells were suspended on a wooden frame-work, which frame was covered with a parti-coloured worsted fringe.

"The Rev. Mr. Darnell, rector of Stanhope, had in his possession a bell of this sort, which is considered a great curiosity. It used formerly to be suspended at the neck of the leading horse (proverbially known as the *Bell-horse*), of the trains by which they Salters, of olden time, conveyed their merchandise over the moors of that district. It is very massive, and has a fine harmonious tone."—"North of England Folk-Lore," by M. A. Denham, Esq., of Piercebridge, county Ebor, Richmon (privately printed), *c.* 1858, p. 27.

The following rhyme used to be recited by the starter in the North of England at foot and horse races:—

> "Bellasay, Bellasay, what time o' day,
> One o'clock, two o'clock, three and away."

Bellasay is apparently a corruption of *Bell-horses*.—Denham's "Northern Folk-Lore."

"'*Bel'ame bel'amy*,' a fayre soule is a fayre frend, &c" (Manningham's "Diary," Nov. 14, 1602).

Horse-stealing was so prevalent about this time that it was not unusual for those who had their horses stolen to consult an astrologer, in order to find the thief, and thus recover the purloined animal.—Lilly's "History of his Life and Times."

"A running-horse's shoes are so narrow at the heel, and so thin, as they are called plates, rather than shoes; it is not only for lightness, but that the fresh nails, being newly shod, may take the better hold of the earth to prevent slipping: For could the nails be put in without shoes, as even and regularly it would do as well; but that cannot be, and therefore you must have plates for that end, which is the only end of plates."—The Duke of Newcastle, ed. Lond., 1667, p. 131.

"Sir Humphrey Forster, a Berkshire gentleman, having won lately, at the Groom-porters and at his own house, about £7000, made a solemn vow, he would never touch dice or cards more, paid his debts, and put £3000 to interest, at seven in the hundred."—*Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stateville*, Christ College, Feb. 26, 1627–28.

Gaming. 1628.

"Mr. Noel, son and heir to the Lord Viscount Campden, who on Christmas day was married at court to the Lady Anne Fielding, hath lost at tennis (in one day, as I take it) to my Lord Carnarvon, my Lord Rich, and other young gallants, £2500; her portion, which his majesty gave with her, not exceeding £3000."—*Mr. Pory to Sir Thos. Puckering, Bart.*, London, January 24, 1632–3. "The Court and Times of Charles I."

1632.

In the proceeding of the Council of State, February 13, 1650, minute No. 8 recites, that "The form of the letter written last year to the several sheriffs to prohibit horse races, to be brought to Council to-morrow." *

Interregnum. 1649–59. Racing Prohibited. 1650.

* State Papers, Interregnum, vol. lxiii., p. 623.

On the 14th of January, 1651, a report was ordered to be drawn up and presented to Parliament against horse races, hunting, and hawking matches, and foot-ball playing. * 1651.

On the 10th of March, Mr. Frost was directed to prepare a letter to the Militia Commissioners throughout the nation, to take care that all public meetings for horse races, cock-fighting, etc., be prevented.† On the day following, this letter was issued to the Commissioners. It recites that the Council of State had received many informations that the enemies of the Commonwealth were still driving on their designs to rise new troubles amongst us, and held many dangerous meetings and conferences in many places, for contriving and disposing their plots, under colour and pretence of cock-fighting, horse-racing, hunting, and other meetings for recreations, which, if there be not care to prevent or disperse, might conduce to the ripening of their counsel, and give a beginning to the breaking out of insurrections and rebellions. The Commissioners were ordered to enquire after all these or like meetings; and to appoint some of the militia to attend such times and places, and either prevent their meetings or disperse them, to take care that the public peace might not be endangered by them. They were to observe and secure the chief promoters of such meetings, and such as shall affront or opose them in the execution of this order were to be reported to the Council, who would then give further direction therein. ‡

* *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., p. 32. † *Ibid.*, vol. lxv., p. 83. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xcvi., p. 35.

On the 27th of March, the Council wrote Colonel Kendrick, directing his attention to this circular; and pointed out that notwithstanding its circulation they heard a horse race was appointed to take place near Dover. To prevent inconvenience thereby, he was desired to draw forth a troop of militia horse to be at the time and place of the meeting, and either prevent their coming together or disperse them.*

1651. Dover.

On the 30th of April the Council wrote to the Militia Commissioners for Kent, acknowledging the receipt of a printed copy of their order prohibiting horse races, etc., in which the words, "out of their own parishes," if not amended might give opportunity to tumultuous meetings, by the confederating of neighbouring parishes, whereby the peace of the country might be endangered; and the Commissioners were told to peruse the Council's circular and amend their order accordingly. †

Over three years elapsed before this subject again occupied the attention of the Council. On the 3rd of July, 1654, it was decided to bring in an ordinance "to prohibit horse-racing for six months;" this was done on the ensuing day, when the Council formally passed the ordinance, which they ordered to be printed and published. ‡

1654.

On the 6th the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal were ordered to issue writs for proclaiming "the ordinance prohibiting horse races for six months." §

* State Papers, Interregnum, vol. cxvi., p. 86. † *Ibid.*, p. 146.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxv., pp. 411, 414. § *Ibid.*, p. 417.

They also wrote to the Honourable Captain Charles Howard, enclosing a copy of this proclamation, which he was to publish at all convenient places, within his jurisdiction, in the North of England. The Council intimated that they received intelligence of a projected race-meeting at Berwick, which he was instructed to prevent, and authorized to secure any person he thought necessary, and to report results. Cromwell ordered one or two troops of horse to go to his assistance, besides conferring on him power to raise 40 dragoons "whereupon he may mount soldiers." *

Berwick.

On the 23rd of February, 1655, an Order in Council was made, on a letter of February 17th, "to request his Highness to publish a Declaration to forbid horse races for six months within this nation; and on the following day (when the following members were present: "His Highnesse, Mr Lawrence, Lo. Pres^t^, Lord Viscount Lisle, Sr Gilbert Pickering, Generall Disbrow, Colonell Sydenham, Colonell Montagu, Sr Charles Wolseley, and Mr Strickland") the proclamation in question was read, amended, and passed. Annexed is a verbatim copy of the document; the letters black being omitted:—

1654–55.

BY HIS HIGHNESS:
A PROCLAMATION
PROHIBITING
HORSE-RACES
FOR
SIX MONTHS.

Interregnum. 1654[–55.]

Whereas notwithstanding the many Eminent Testimonies

* *Ibid.*, p. 419.

the Lord in his Providence hath given against the Secret and Mischievous Plots, which have been laid and contrived by persons disaffected to the Peace and Wellfare of this Commonwealth, in the timely Discovery of them, whereby the same have been hitherto hindered from being brought to effect; Yet forasmuch as due Care ought to be taken for preventing whatsoever may minister an Opportunity to give any Disturbance to the Public Peace, His Highness the Lord Protector being informed that several Horse-Races are appointed in divers parts of the Commonwealth, and considering how great a Concourse of People do usually frequent such Meetings, and the evil Use made thereof by such ill-disposed Persons as watch for opportunities to raise New Troubles; For the better preventing of the evils which may arise thereby to the People of this Commonwealth, His Highness by the advice of His Council, Doth hereby prohibit and forbid all Horse-races, and all meetings of any persons whatsoever upon pretence or colour of Horse-races, in any Place within England or Wales, for the space of six Months, from the six and twentieth day of February, one thousand six hundred fifty and four. And doth hereby straightly charge and command, That no Person or Persons whatsoever, during the space of the said six Months, from the said six and twentieth day of February, do appoint any Horse-race, or do assemble or meet together upon, or by colour of any appointment of any Horse-race, or be present at such Horse-race, as they would avoid being guilty of the Danger that may ensue thereupon, and as they tender the Peace and Security of this Nation. And His Highness doth likewise charge and enjoin all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other Ministers of Justice, to use their utmost diligence and care, That all meetings upon Pretence or colour of any Horse-race or Horse-races, during the time aforesaid, be prevented and hindered, as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And all Officers and Soldiers of the Army, quartered or lying in or near such Place and Places, are hereby authorised and required, upon notice, to be aiding and assisting to the said

Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Ministers of Justice herein.

Given at White-Hall the 24 day of February 1654.

London, Printed by Henry Hills and John Field, Printers to His Highness. MDCLIV.*

On the 22nd of August it was ordered, "To keep a strict eye on the carriage of the disaffected, and suppress their meetings, allowing no horse-races, cock-fighting, bear-baitings, or unlawful assemblies, as rebellion is usually hatched on such occasions." 1655.

And on the 31st of October, Cromwell, in his famous Declaration in Council, showing the reasons of their proceedings for securing the peace of the Commonwealth, vindicated his action in suppressing race meetings, because the royalists "resolved to rise at the horse-races, where they and their servants would come well horsed and armed, but were prevented by the prohibition of horse-races." †

At a meeting of the Council held at Whitehall, January 8, 1665–6, Major-General Desborow received, among other instructions, "to observe the behaviour of all the disaffected, and what meetings they hold, and to suppress such as are dangerous; also to suppress all horse-races, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, stage-plays, or other unlawful assemblies, by seizing the persons met on such occasions." ‡ 1655-56.

* State Papers, Interregnum, Entry Books, vol. lxxv. (red label), pp. 696–7. MS., P. R. O. Proclamations, King's Lib. B. M.

† "Parliamentary History of England," vol. xx., pp. 435–460.

‡ Calendar of State Papers, Dom., Interregnum, 1655–6. Edited by Mrs. M. A. Everett Green, p. 103.

On the 12th of June, 1657, Mr. Brampfield brought in a Bill in Parliament against gaming and betting, and persons who lived at high rates having no visible estates, profession, or calling. The Bill was read, but finding the usual brief was not attached, the Speaker was about to reject it, observing, "that he was not able to play at all those games without a brief." Then Mr. West moved that the Bill be returned back to the gentlemen that brought it in. He took exception to some of its provisions; pointed out that lawful games such as bowls, "which many honest men used," were forbidden; and instanced that the Lord Protector patronized that exercise. He then moved permission to add some sporting members to the committee who were favourable to lawful recreations.

1657. Gaming, etc.

Mr. Bampfield asserted that the Bill did not prohibit bowling, but only unlawful games and excessive betting, and contended that there were some very honest, worthy persons at the drawing of his Bill, including Lord Whitelock, Sir L. Long, and himself. The Bill was reported as amended on the 19th of June, and finally passed the House on the 23rd of that month.*

In June, 1657, an Act of Parliament was promulgated for punishing persons "who live at high rates, and have no estate or calling answerable thereto, and make it their livelihood to cheat the young gentry and others," by which Act it was ordained that all persons who gain money at cards, dice, tennis, bowls,

* Burton's Diary.

cock-fighting, or horse-races, shall forfeit double the money gained, one-half to the Lord Protector Cromwell, the other half to the loser, if he prosecute them in three months, or to any other prosecuting in six months. Forfeitures on this Act were recoverable in the courts of law; and all bonds, mortgages, etc., made since June 24, 1657, for gaming debts, to be void and of no effect.*

On the 8th of April, 1658, the Council of State, at Whitehall, advised a proclamation to be issued to prohibit "all horse-races for the next eight months ensuing." † 1658.

"Journals *of the* House *of* Commons.

"Wednesday, July 13, 1659.

"Mr. *Scot* reports from the Council of State, That the Council conceive it necessary, that a Proclamation be issued, prohibiting Horse-races, Cock-matches, Bull-baitings, Hurlings, and other Meetings of like Nature, as being a Means to colour the Designs of such as endeavour or intend the Disturbance of the publick Peace: And that, all Persons, who have been in Arms against this Commonwealth, be, by Proclamation, required to repair to their respective Habitations within Days, and prohibited to travel from the Places of their abode above Five Miles, for the Space of except they shall have Licence thereunto from the Parliament, or Council of State, or such Person or Persons as they shall appoint. Interregnum. 1659.

* State Papers, Dom., Interregnum, vol. clv., book ii., No. 121.

† *Ibid.*, vol. lxxviii., pp. 550–4.

"*Resolved*, That a Proclamation be issued, prohibiting all Horse-races, Cock-matches, Bull-baitings, Out-hurlings, publick Wrestlings, and other Meetings, of like Nature, until the First Day of October next, 1659."—Vide vol. vii., p. 715 a.

Several writers have asserted that Oliver Cromwell was a Turfite, but none adduce the slightest authority in support of the allegation. The earliest among those scribes was Lawrence, who in his "History of the Horse" (vol. i., p. 218) says, "Cromwell had his stud of race-horses." Later "The Druid" wrote as follows :—

Oliver Cromwell as a Turfite.

"The wily Cromwell was not altogether indifferent to the breed of running horses, and with one of the stallions in his stud—Place's White Turk—do the oldest of our pedigrees end. He had also a famous brood-mare, called the Coffin-Mare, from the circumstance of her being concealed in a vault during the search for his effects at the time of the Restoration. Mr. Place, stud-groom to Cromwell, was a conspicuous character in those days, and, according to some, the White Turk was his individual property."—The "Quarterly Review," vol. xlix., p. 385.

No contemporary authority is vouchsafed for these and similar assertions, which have been reiterated *ad nauseam* by sporting writers from time to time, in all sorts of publications relating to the turf.* It is, however, most probable that these statements are

1653. *"Oliver Cromwell *keeps a stud of race-horses*.

1654. "Cromwell prohibits races for six months.

1658. April 8. "Cromwell again prohibits races for eight months."—Townsend "Manual of Dates." London, 1882, Fifth ed., p. 473.

perfectly correct. Our Annals have divulged certain facts hitherto unknown, or forgotten, by which it is apparent that the Protector, at any rate, inherited from his uncle all the attributes of a Turfite.* His family seat at Hinchingbrooke, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was as much associated with the turf in those days as Goodwood Park is in these. The visits of James I. to Hinchingbrooke were of frequent occurrence. Bred, born, and reared at Hinchingbrooke, Oliver Cromwell must have been imbued with the infatuation, if not actually initiated in, the mysteries of the national sport during the seventeen years of his residence there prior to his arrival at Cambridge University in 1616. While at Cambridge it is related he exhibited, in a marked degree, many of the venatic predilections of his family; and several writers inform us that he spent most of his time there at foot-ball, hunting, hawking, "and other robust exercises for skill and expertness, in which he was famous." His father dying about two years after Oliver had been at college, he returned home; "when the irregularity of his conduct so disturbed his mother, that by the advice of friends she sent him to London, and placed him in Lincoln's-Inn. But here, instead of applying himself to the study of the law, he gave himself up to wine, women, and play, so that he quickly dissipated what his father had left him." Now, is it possible that any seventeenth-century young gentleman could have better training for a successful career on the turf, or higher qualifications to become a patron saint of the

* See vol. i., pp. 96, 97.

national pastime in after-days, when he was greater than the greatest king or kaiser?

But Cromwell's marvellous life and actions do not concern us further than those incidents relating to his support and opposition of the turf and rural sports. Paradoxical as this sounds, it is, nevertheless, true, since he was, beyond doubt, a thorough sportsman, and probably loved racing in his heart of heart. Many instances are recorded in which he left the cares of state, and the anxieties of his campaigns to enjoy the pleasures of hunting and hawking.* He was nearly killed when attempting to drive his coach in Hyde Park. He kept race-horses, he imported Arabian horses, he bred race-horses, and may he not have run them? His opposition to the turf did not arise from any personal ill-feeling to horse racing *per se;* it was attributable to the political tactics of the Royalists, who, under cover of such meetings, and knowing the popularity of the sport with the public, organized and promoted them (in some cases) for ulterior objects. And another element in the case was the hypocrisy of the Presbyterian fanatics, whom Cromwell was obliged to humour.

Although there is no actual evidence that the Protector ever attended a race meeting, or run any of his horses, there is sufficient proof of his having owned and bred those noble animals. As we have already seen, he obtained some of the best horses at the royal stud in 1650, and in 1655, at the Restora-

* See "The Moderate Intelligencer," and "Whitelock's Memorials," *passim.*

tion, his horses, "said to be the best in England," reverted to the royal stud.*

In September, 1657, Sir Thomas Bendish, the English ambassador at Constantinople, at the instance of the Levant Company, was enjoined to procure some Arabian horses for Oliver Cromwell. This company of adventurers likewise obtained some of those animals at Aleppo for his Highness, who required them "to furnish England with of that kind." In November Richard Rooth, captain of the good ship *Darthmouth*, arrived, from Rotterdam, at Gravesend with Nicholas Baxter, "His Highness's Gentleman of Horse," who had the Lord Protector's positive commands to bring the Arabian horse, for which he had been sent "by water as far as he conveniently could." †

Cardinal Mazarin presented Colonel Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador at the Court of France, "with four exceeding fine Arab horses for the saddle," which Lockhart pronounced to be the finest he ever saw, adding that "the lord his master would be mightly pleased with them." ‡ In those days of the Usurper's greatness, he maintained an almost regal establishment, had his master of horse, huntsmen, falconers, game keepers, etc.,§ and loved to look upon his "Barbary steeds." ‖

About the same time, Richard Cromwell, the Protector's son and successor, is described as a "person of great worth

* "*Whitehall*, May 26.

"Ordered, that the Serjeant at Arms forthwith seiz all the goods of such persons as sate as Judges upon the late King, and that the seven horses of *Oliver Cromwell*, said to be the best in *England*, and such other horses as are seized of, belonging to such persons, be carried to the *Mews* for the service of his Majesty."—"The Parliamentary Intelligencer," May $\frac{21}{28}$, 1660.

"Mr. Place, of Dimsdale, Stud-master to Oliver Cromwell, stole the Coffin Mare out of the stud, and kept her concealed in a vault, till the search for her was over."—"The General Stud-Book," London, 1803, p. 367.

† State Papers, Dom., Interreg., 1657–8, pp. 96, 97, 453.

‡ Thurloe, State Papers, vol. v., p. 655.

§ Forster, vol. v., p. 430. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

and merit, and well skilled in hawking, hunting, *horse-racing*, with other sports and pastimes." *

Mr. J. H. Hinde, in a paper entitled "Public Amusements in Newcastle," says that the races at Newcastle, "with all other meetings of a similar kind, were suppressed in the time of the Commonwealth; which caused Daniel Collingwood, son of Sir Robert Collingwood, of Branton, to say in a public company that 'there were none now in power but the rascality, who envied that gentlemen should enjoy their amusements.' For this offence he was summoned by the Parliament as a delinquent, June 11th, 1657. The races were revived after the Restoration, being held as before, the week after Whitsuntidde. In 1659, they are noticed in the Common Council books, the course being still on Killingworth Moor."—"Archæologia Æliana," part xiv., p. 229.

Newcastle. 1657 59.

The following appears in "The *Journals of the* House of *Commons*," in connection with the incident above mentioned:—

"*Thursday, the 11th of June*, 1657.

"Sir *Wm. Strickland* acquaints the House with a Paper he hath received from *Robert Ogle* Gentleman, subscribed by him: Which was read; being as followeth;

"'The information of *Robert Ogle*, of *Eslington* in the County of *Northumberland*, Gentleman; Who saith, That in *April* last, he being at his Inn at *Alnwick* in the said County, Sir *Robert Collingwood*, of *Branton; John Salkeld*, of *Rock*, the younger; *Daniell Collingwood*, Son of the said *Sir Robert*, and one *Robert Pemberton;* came unto the Room where this informant was: Where, falling upon Discourses about a king, Sir *Robert Collingwood* said, "We must have a King, and will have a King; and my Lord Protector dares not refuse it." And afterwards, the said Sir *Robert Collingwood* began to inveigh against *Robert Fenwick* Esquire, a Member of this present Parliament; saying, "He was a base Fellow;

* "Some extracts from a description of Cromwell's Lords," quoted in "Forster's Statesmen," vol. v., app. C.

his Father was hanged for Felony; and he did wonder who did send him to the Parliament." And further this Informant saith, That some Days before, he being in Company where Cavalier Gentlemen were murmuring that they had been debarred from Horse-Races, *Daniel Collingwood*, son of the said Sir *Robert*, thereupon took liberty to say, that there was none now in Power, but the Rascality; who envied that Gentlemen should enjoy their Recreations.

"'*Robert Ogle.*'

"The said *Robert Ogle*, being at the Door, was called in: And being come to the Bar, the Speaker examined him upon the matter in the Paper; which he affirmed in the several Particulars: And the Paper being shewed unto him, he acknowledged, that the same was subscribed with his Hand, and the Matters therein are true.

"*Ordered*, That Sir *Robert Collingwood*, and *Daniel Collingwood* his Son, be sent for as Delinquents."

"*Tuesday, 23rd of June*, 1657.

"The House being informed, that Mr. *Collingwood* was at the Door, being sent for, by Warrant, as a Delinquent;

"He was called in: And, being come to the Bar; and kneeling, the Speaker demanded of him, Whether he did say, That there were none but the Rascality now in Power, who envied that Gentlemen should enjoy their Recreations: He doth utterly deny, that he spake any such Words.

"And being commanded to withdraw;

"*Resolved*, That *Daniel Collingwood* be discharged.

"*Resolved*, That Sir *Robert Collingwood* have time to appear at the Bar on *Thursday* of the next Meeting; and in the meantime the Warrant of the Serjeant at Arms be suspended."

[On the 29th of January, 1657–8, Sir Robert Collingwood appeared at the Bar of the House of Commons, and after undergoing a similar ordeal, was ordered to be "discharged of his Imprisonment."—Vol. viii., *sub dato.*]

We cannot do better than to conclude this chapter with the following extract from Hume :—

"The gloomy enthusiasm which prevailed among the parliamentary party is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history; and the most instructive, as well as entertaining, to a philosophical mind. All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents: horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities: even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian, the sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens: this adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras. Though the English nation be naturally candid and sincere, hypocrisy prevailed among them beyond any example in ancient and modern times." *

* "History of England,' ch. lxii.

BOOK XI.

NEWMARKET IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

1660—1669.

Dilapidated state of the palace at the Restoration—Petition of the ex-custodian to the King—Description of the ruins—The royal garden and the appurtenances—The new warren—Custodians and gamekeepers re-appointed—Their duties and remuneration—*Sir Allan Apsley*—Cost of repairing the royal stables—Other officials belonging to the royal establishment—Expenses relating to the office of the Master of the Horse—The coursers, stallions, colts, and hunters at the royal studs—The equerries—The surveyors of the races—The yeoman of the race—The marshal farriers—The King's jockeys-in-ordinary—The duties, privileges, and wages of these officials—The Master of the Horse—His duties and emoluments—State of the town after the Restoration—Number and names of the householders in 1662 and 1664—Lists of the principal inhabitants—The ratable value of property in the town—Amount of taxation derived by hearth-money—Origin, cause, and object of this tax—Glance at the state of the royal revenue—Manorial matters—The court-leet—The constables—The inspector of weights and measures—The pindar—Their duties and emoluments—The pound—Fines imposed on the owners of animals trespassing—Magisterial matters—Dispute between the rival rectors of Cheveley—The Rev. Abraham Wright in the wrong place—Proceedings before the magistrates at Newmarket—Justices' justice—The eviction—Suits relating to the tithes—Nemesis—1663. First notice of racing at Newmarket after the Restoration—The spring meeting—Scenes on the course—Match between the Duke of Richmond and Lord Suffolk—Betting—Serious accident to the Duke of Monmouth when riding Lord Thomond's horse—Noblemen jockeys—Pharmacology for turfites—A remarkable cure—More races—Cole *v.* the Miller—End of the

meeting—The jockeys proceed to Cambridge—Degrees conferred on them at the University by command of the King—Further costs for building and repairing the royal stables at Newmarket—Dangerous state of the heath—The King's directions thereon—The royal hounds sent to Newmarket—Expenses attending them—Expected visit of the King—Does not take place—Hunting and coursing within ten miles of Newmarket prohibited—Abuses by poachers—*The Duke of Lennox—The Earl of Thomond—Sir John Cotton*—1665. The new Twelve-stone Plate founded by the King—The round-course—The articles for this race—1666. The spring meeting—The King's first visit—The races—Match between Bo-peep and Rainbow—Spavins *v.* Whitefoot and other events—Royal visits in the vicinity of Newmarket—The M.P.'s lodged at the King's expense—The officers of state in attendance—Scenes on the course—The King and the Worcestershire baronet—Negotiations by the King for the purchase of Audley End—And the result—Close of the meeting—*Sir Paul Neill—Viscount Mountgarret—The Earl of Exeter—The Hon. Bernard Howard—The Earl of Oxford*—1668. Retrenchment in the royal household—Reductions made in the expenses of the mews—Order in council relating to the game-keepers at Newmarket, etc.—The royal buckhounds—The spring meeting at Newmarket probably postponed—The May meeting—Attended by the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the principal court officials—Other celebrities present—"The sanctity of the Sabbath"—The Duke of Buckingham in the pulpit—Incidental expenses of the court during the King's sojourn—The September-October meeting—Attended by the King, Queen, Duke of York, all the court officials, and an immense number of the nobility and gentry from all parts of the country—The races—Lord Thomond's successes—Thumps wins the six-mile race—A close finish—Royal recreations—Hawking, hunting, coursing, cocking, etc.—The maids of honour—The second October meeting—The royal stud at Audley End—Horse-stealing there—The King's wager with the Duchess of Cleveland—She wins Non-Such Palace—Sells it to Lord Berkeley—Pulled down and re-erected at Epsom—The Durdens—The new royal palace at Newmarket—Thomas Elliot appointed custodian—His salary and duties—Incidental expenses of the court during this visit—*The Duke of Ormond—Lord Berkeley*—1669. The first spring meeting—Attended by the King, the Duke of York, etc.—The second spring meeting—Visit of the royal family and court—Events at Newmarket described by the King in his letter to the Duchess of Orleans—A turf prophet of the period—Proves a bad tipster—His royal dupe—The Abbé Pregnani—Objects of his mission to England—*Lord Arundel—Lord Clifford*—The April-May meeting—Attended by the King, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the court officials, and a great many of the nobility and gentry—The Duke of Tuscany's description of this

meeting—His departure from London—The order of his going—The journey down—Dinner at Epping—Supper and bed at Bishop's Stortford—The roadside inns—The journey resumed on horseback—Audley End—The roads—Incidents *en route*—Arrival at Newmarket—The ducal party put up at the Maidens—H.S.H. visits the palace—Congratulated by the King on his safe arrival—Visits the Duke of York—Lord Thomond's house purchased by Charles II.—A morning walk in Newmarket—An encounter with the King—A royal coursing party—Home to dinner—Fowling dotterels on the heath—Visit to the palace—An early supper—A dull morning—More coursing—Dinner at the palace—The guests—They proceed to the race-course—The course described—The posts—The races—Training secrets—Going to the start—The jockeys—The colours of the riders—The start—Scenes during the race—An exciting finish—Proclaiming the winner—The return to Newmarket—An afternoon stroll—An evening at the court—Charles touches for the King's evil—Scene in the palace—The ceremony described—Dinner—Another day's racing—Details—The King visits the Grand Duke at the Maidens—And returns to London for the May-day festivities in Hyde Park—A deputation from the Cambridge University invite the Grand Duke to visit them—H.S.H.'s description of Newmarket—His departure for and arrival at Cambridge—*The Marquis de Blanquefort*—*Lord Croftes*—*Lord Newport*—Royal visit in October.

In August, 1660, a petition was sent to the king by Robert Ford praying to be reinstated as keeper of the ruins and relics of the royal palace at Newmarket, asserting that he and his father had held that appointment in the time of Charles I. "of blessed memory," but that he, the petitioner, had been dispossessed during the Interregnum by one Okey, and others, by whom most part of the buildings were pulled down; and as these persons still retained possession of what remained, he prayed they might be evicted in his favour, "that there may be noe more demolishing thereof." Ford annexed a schedule of the parts of the palace then remaining, which only consisted of two brew-houses, the butteries, the old building next the street, a building at the end where the tennis-court

1660.

was, the coach-houses, the forge, the pantry, some other outhouses, and a stable next the church.* Let us briefly see the extent of the dilapidations wreaked on this royal palace during those brief ten years. Its heart of heart, known as the "king's lodgings," a large brickwork structure, was razed to the ground; the tennis-court adjoining disappeared; of the kitchen no hearth remained; not a stick of the long gallery was to be seen; the erst prince's state lodgings now "were on the cold ground" with a vengeance; no vestige remained of the numerous suites of offices thereunto belonging, neither upstairs nor downstairs nor in my lady's chamber; the pantry survived as if to mark the site of the buttery, the wardrobe and the prince's kitchen; the stables of the great horses, with the barns, the riding-house, and the kennels, were but memories of the past. Not being destructible, the paddocks and the closes were still to the fore; while, as if to show the irony of fate, the coach-houses and the forge remained extant. All the minor and subsidiary appurtenances appertaining to the prominent features of the palace were as invisible as if they never existed. The garden "was not much altered."

In response to Ford's petition, the king, a few days afterwards, on August 13, 1660, reappointed him custodian of the ruins of the palace and the royal garden at Newmarket, with the usual fees of 2*s.* a day, as appears at length in the following copy of the grant:

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland defender of the faith &c To all whome

* State Papers, Dom., Charles II., vol. xii., Nos. 33, 34, MS., P. R. O.

these presents shall come greeting. WHEREAS the Office of chief Housekeeper of our House at Newmarkett in the County of Cambridge is now voide and in our guift and dispose by the death of Robert Baker deceased Our Late Servant in that place. KNOWE yee therefore that wee in consideracõn of the good and faithful seruice done vnto vs by Robert Ford the elder of Newmarkett aforesaid and of like seruice to be p̄formed vnto vs by Robert Ford the younger sonne of the said Robert of our especiall grace &c have given and granted by these presents &c vnto the said Robert Ford the younger the Office of Custody and Keeping of our said House at Newmarkett aforesaid And him the said Robert Ford the younger chiefe keeper of our said house and of the Stables Brewhouses and all other Outhouses edifices Backsides and grounds whatsoever now built or hereafter to be built there and which doe now belong or shall hereafter belong and appertaigne to our said house Wee doe make Ordaine & appoint by these p̄sents. TO HAUE hold and enioy the said Office of Custody and keeping of our said House at Newmarkett together with the Stables Brewhouses and all other the p̄misses to the said Robert Ford the younger during his naturall life together with all p̄fitts and commodities to the same belonging or in any wise app'taining in as large and ample manner as the said Robert Baker Robert Lindsey Thomas Lovett or any p̄'son or p̄'sons had held or enioyed or ought to haue held or enioyed the same. And further we haue given and granted And by these p̄sents do give and grant vnto the said Robert Ford the younger for the Keeping of o^r said House the wages and Fee of twelue pence by the Day of lawfull money of England. TO HAVE and yearely to receive the said Fee &c during his natural life, payable out of our Treasury half yearly at the usual feasts &c . . . And further know yee that we have likewise given and granted &c vnto the said Robert Ford the younger the Office and place of Keeper of our Garden now belonging to our said House and of any other Garden that shall hereafter belong to the said house. TO HAUE hold exercise and enioy the said office &c AND FURTHER &c for the exercising of the

Newmarket. 1660. The Palace.

said place of Keeper of o^r^ Garden aforesaid do give and grant vnto the said Robert Ford the younger the wages and Fee of twelve pence by the day, of lawfull money of England. To HAUE enioy and yearly to receive the said fee as aforesaid. ALTHOUGH &^c^ IN WITNESS &^c^ WITNES our selfe at Oxford the eight day of February in the twentieth (*sic*) yeare of our Raigne.

P^r^ br^e^ di privato Sigillo.

WOLSELEY.*

Enroled Aug. 13. 1660.

Sir Allen Apsley,[169] Master of the Hawks, was appointed, September 13, 1660, Keeper of the New Warren, with the fee of 1*s.* 4*d.* per day, as will be seen by the subjoined copy of his patent in that behalf:

"CHARLES the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland king defender of the faith &^c^

The New Warren. 1660.

TO ALL to whome these P^r^ñts shall come greeting. KNOW yee that WEE for diuers good causes and consideracõns us at this P^r^sent moving of o^r^ especiall grace certaine knowledge and meare moc̃on Have given and granted And by these P^r^ñts for us o^r^ heirs and successors doe give and grant vnto our trusty and welbeloued Sir Allen Apsley Knight Master of o^r^ hawkes the Office and place of Custody and keeping of o^r^ new erected warren called Wilbraham Bushes betwixt the Townes of newmarkett and Shelford in our County of Cambridge and the Office of keeping of o^r^ game of all sorts within ten myles compasse of the same And him the said Sir Allen Apsley keeper of the said warren and of ẽar said Game there WEE DOE make ordaine constitute and appoint by these P^r^sents which said offices Henry Wood gent.' late held and enioyed. TO HAUE HOLD exercise and enioy the said Offices and every of them vnto him the said Sir Allen Apsley by himselfe or his sufficient

* Pell's Enrolment; Patent Book *sub dato*. MS., P. R. O.

deputy or Deputies During the life of him the said Sir Allen Apsley AND FURTHER of our more ample grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on WEE HAUE given and granted and by these p̃r̃sents for vs o^r heires and Successors WEE DOE give and grant vnto the said Sir Allen Apsley for the exercising of the said Offices of keep' of o^r said Warren and for keeping of the said game the wages and Fee of sixteene pence of lawfull money of England by the day. TO HAUE and yearely to receiue the said Fee of sixteene pence by the Day to the said Sir Allen Apsley and his Assignes from the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist last past before the date thereof for and during his naturall life out of the treasure of vs our heires and Successors at the Receipt of the Exchequ^r of vs our heires and Successors by the hands of the Treasurer Undertreaſr and other Officers of vs our heires and Successors there for the tyme being that is to say at the Feasts of the birth of our Lord God and the Nativity of St John Baptist by even porc̃ons half yearely to be paid. ALTHOUGH expresse menc̃on of the true yearely value or certainty of the premisses or of any other of the mor of any other guifts or grants by vs or by any of o^r Progenitors or Predecessors heretofore to the said Sir Allen Apsley Knight in these p̃r̃sents is not made or any Statute Act ordinance Provision Proclamac̃on or Restric̃on heretofore had made enacted ordained or prouided or any other matter cause or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof we haue caused these o^r Letters to be made Patents. WITNES our selfe at Westm̃ the thirteenth day of September in the twelueth * yeare of o^r Raigne.

"By the King. HOWARD.

"Inrotlatur iiij^to Januarij 1660[–61]." †

* Although Charles II. did not become king *de facto* until May 29, 1660, his regal years were computed from the death of his father, January 30, 1648–9 : the year of the Restoration being called the twelfth year of his reign.

† Pell's Enrolments. Patent Book, *s. b.* (*Cf.* MS. Harleian, 1884, fo. 32.)

On July 4, 1660, Sir Allen Apsley, Knight, was appointed to the office or place of Master Surveyor and Keeper of his Majesty's Hawks, during life, at a salary of £30 a month, twenty-eight days to the month, for his entertainment, also 10*s.* per day for providing meat for the hawks; and by another patent he obtained £800 per annum, of which £200 was for the entertainment of four falconers at £50 a year each, viz. for the crow hawks—and £600 for provision of hawks of all kinds: the crow, the heron, the field, and the brook, and for all other charges of that nature, payable quarterly out of the Exchequer.

By a later patent Peter Apsley, son of Sir Allen Apsley, was joined with his father in the office with reversion to the longer liver of them. Some years afterwards, when Sir Allen died, this Sir Peter obtained the appointment, which he surrendered, probably for a consideration, to Thomas Felton and William Chiffinch, Esquires, and these persons were accordingly appointed to the office by patent dated June 20, 1675.

[169] Sir Allen Apsley—son and heir of Sir Allen Apsley, twenty-one years victualler of the navy, and fourteen Lieutenant of the Tower of London (who died May 24, 1630), and Lucy, daughter of Sir John St. John of Lydiard, Knight—was M.P. for Thetford in the Long Parliament, falconer to Charles II., keeper of the New Warren and master of the game there, and treasurer and receiver-general of James, Duke of York. He died October 15, 1683. His only child and heiress, Catherine, married Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Knight, M.P., governor of the East India and the Royal African Companies *temp.* James II. He was afterwards treasurer of the household to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and on her accession to the throne, Sir Benjamin was constituted her majesty's cofferer. Allen-Alexander, 6th and present Earl Bathurst, now represents the family. The mansion, Old Place, in Pulborough, in which the Apsley's resided till their extinction, was built in the reign of Henry VI. Enough is still extant to afford a curious specimen of the seat of a Sussex gentleman at that

period. It enclosed a court, and the superstructure was of timber-frame, with numerous and large square windows, many of them projecting.

John Cole, gentleman, was appointed by Privy Seal, dated Westminster, February 25, 1660–1, to the "office or place of breeding and keeping our wildfowl about Newmarket and the places adjoining during his natural life in as large and ample a manner and forme as John Fyson deceased or any other formerly enjoyed the same," with the fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, payable quarterly.* 1661.

About this time John Bayspole, Surveyor of the Royal Stables, advanced £800 for materials and work for repairing the "ruinous stables" at Newmarket, which amount he requested to receive, being anxious to complete the job without delay. Two years, however, elapsed before he received the whole of the sum advanced by him for this purpose.†

John Darcy, Esq., was appointed by patent, dated Westminster, June 4, 1661, Master of the Studs, in the place of Sir John Fenwick, deceased, during pleasure, with a salary of £200 a year, payable out of the Treasury half yearly at Christmas and on the Feast of St. John the Baptist. With and by the consent of the Master of the Horse a contract was made with him that for and in consideration of £800 per annum, "Hee should out of his ground and Breed

* Enrolled March 27, 1661. Pell's Enrolment Books, vol. xiii., fo. 92*a*, MS., P. R. O. Cole surrendered his appointment, November 18, 1662, and was succeeded therein by Lewis Hickes, Esq., an ancestor of the present senior member of Parliament for the county Cambridge.

† State Papers, Domestic, *sub dato.*

of Mares annually serve vnto o^r^ stable twelve choice Horses without any further charge vnto us.'*

About this time the nominal annual charge of the horses kept for the king and queen, with those allowed to the officers of the household, was fixed at £16,640. At the royal mews (exclusive of Newmarket) there were (exclusive of carriage horses and nags, &c.), forty-three coursers, stallions, and colts; and thirty-one hunters. Three equerries of the coursers' stable had £60 a year and the use of six horses each. Six equerries of the hunting stable receive £120 a year and the use of twelve horses. Thirty grooms were attached to the former, and thirteen to the latter. John Burwell was appointed gentleman saddler, with an allowance of 1*s.* per day, and 3½*d.* for his servant. Two surveyors of the races had £20 a year each, and the use of two nags. The yeoman of the race enjoyed £36 10*s.* a year, and the use of one nag yearly. The Marshall Farrier, Robert Snape, had £250 a year, and a like salary was paid to the Marshall Farriers belonging to the king's hunters and running horses.† The following relates to the king's four jockeys in ordinary :—

"The Fower Boy Ryders, viz.: To Peter Allibond and George Horniblowe two of the Boy Ryders vnder the iiij^or^ Ryders of his Ma^ts^ Stables for their wages at vj^d^ the peece ℔

* Enrolled, November 23, 1661. Pell's Enrolment Books. Patent Books (*Ibid.*). On Darcy's death Sutton Oglethorpe, Esq., obtained the appointment of Master of the Studs, by patent dated Westminster, July 27, 1674, during pleasure, at a salary of £200 per annum, but the contract to supply the king with twelve choice horses for £800 a year was then discontinued.

† State Papers, Dom. Charles II., vol. iii. No. 101, *et seq.*, and Audit Office Records, Rot. 80, *et seq.*, MS., P.R.O.

diem and vj^{li} xvij^{s} ℔ añm for either of their Liveryes due to them for one whole yeare ended at Midsuñer 1661—xxxj^{li} xix^{s}.

"To William Burgany another of the said Boy Ryders for the like wages and Livery due to him for one yeare and a quarten and xxj^{ty} dayes ended the xxth of October 1661 being ye day he dyed—xx^{li} xix^{s} iiij ob^{q}.

"And to John Smith, one other of the said Boy Ryders in the roome of Richard Hester deceased for the like wages and Livery due to him for one quarter of a yeare and vj weekes ended at Midsuñer 1661 — C^{s} x^{d} ob. Total lvij^{li} xix^{s} iij^{d}." *

At this time the office of Master of the Horse was held by that arch-traitor, or patriot, General Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle, who subsequently sold it to George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham. His emoluments and duties were as follows :—

"The Third Great Officer of the *Kings Court* is the *Master of the Horse*, antiently called *Comes Stabuli*, or *Constable*, to whom a higher emploiment and Power was then given, but this is taken from him. This great Officer hath now the ordering and disposal of all the Kings Stables and Races of Horses, and had heretofore of all the Posts of England. He hath also the power over Equairies and Pages, over the Footmen, Grooms, Riders of the Great Horses, Farriers, Smiths, Coachmen, Sadlers, and all other Trades working to the Kings Stables, all of whom he (or by his Warrant the Avener) giveth an Oath to be true and faithful. He hath the Charge of all Lands and Revenues appointed for the Kings breed of Horses, and for charges of the Stable, and for Litters, Coaches, Sumpter Horses &c. He only hath the *Priviledge* to make use of any Horses, Pages, Footmen belonging to the King's Stable. At any *Solemn Cavalcade*

* Wardrobe Accs. Treasure of the Chamber. Exchequer L.T.R., Series 1, box G, 12–13 Charles II, bundle 6, m. 5, MS., P.R.O.

he rides next behind the King, and leads a *Lear Horse of State*. His yearly Fee is *£666 16s. 4d. (sic)** and a Table of 16 dishes each Meal. The account of the Stables for Horse-Meat, Livery Wages and Board Wages are brought by the Avener, being Chief Clerk of the Avery, to be passed and allowed by the Board of *Green-Cloath*."—"Angliæ Notitia," by Edward Chamberleyne, F.R.S. London, 3rd edit. 1669.†

Charles II. Newmarket. Suffolk. 1662.

The following return of the hearth-tax, collected at Newmarket, about this period, gives the names of the householders, the number of hearths, and the amount of the taxation, from which it appears that there were about one hundred houses in the town shortly after the Restoration :—

CHEAVELEY HUNDRED.

NEWMARKET. (CAMBRIDGSHIRE.)

Jane Miles is occupier of one house in which are firehearths	03
Richard Goodwyn is occupier &c	01
Anthony Underwood is occupier &c	03
John Carlton is occupier &c	08
John Shaw is occupier &c	02
Elizabeth Sibley is occupier &c	11
Martha Phillipps is occupier &c	10
Ralph Gregory is occupier &c	02
Thomas Cuñyns is occupier &c	06
Christopher Sherman is occupier &c	04
Adlard Cage gentl' is occupier &c	12
Robert Turner is occupier &c	08
Christofer Row is occupier &c	19
William Claydon is occupier &c	04
Jeremy Gowen is occupier &c	16

* This is a mistake. His fee was 100 marks or £66 13*s.* 4*d.* a year—*Vide* Orig. Pat., MS., P. R. O.

† Compare De-Laune's "Present State of London," 12mo., 1681, p. 103.

William Simpson is occupier &c	04
Henry Theobald is occupier &c	04
Thomas Gray is occupier &c	06
Stafford is occupier &c	12
George Sterne gentl' is occupier &c	06
Henry Payne is occupier &c	04
Richard Nelson is occupier &c	06
John Hush is occupier &c	04
Elizabeth Blackwyn is occupier &c	04
James Sympson is occupier &c	01
Thomas Wicks is occupier &c	02
William Bently is occupier &c	04
John Wicks is occupier &c	01
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THE COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE.

CHEAVLEY HUNDRED. (CAMBRIDGSHIRE.) NEWMARKET. **Charles II. 1664.**

The money for the half yeare. Shillings.		Hearths.	
iij	Jane Miles	iij	
j	Richard Goodwyn	j	
iij	Anthony Underwood	iij	
viij	John Carlton	viij	
ij	John Shawe	ij	
xj	Elizabeth Sibley	xj	
x	Martha Phillips	x	
ij	Ralph Gregory	ij	
vj	Thomas Cumyns	vj	
iiij	Christopher Sherman	iiij	The Earle of Thomond.
xij	Adlard Cage gent.	xij	
viij	Robert Turner	viij	now John Furckett.
xix	Christopher Rowe	xix	
iiij	William Claydon	iiij	All in the Occupacõn of Gowen.
xvi	Jermey Gowen	xvj	
v	William Simpson	iiij	Entered one short.

* Lay Subsidies, Cambridgeshire. Cheaveley Hundred $\frac{84}{345}$. M.S. P. R. O.

The money for the half yeare. Shillings.		Hearths.	
v	Henry Theobald	iiij	Entered one short.
vi	Thomas Gray	vi	
xij	Stafford	xij	Now Thomas Whitbey.
vi	George Sterne Gent'	vi	Hee hath viij enterd & paid j short.
iiij	Henry Payne	iiij	
vj	Richard Nelson	vj	Now Thomas Sheath.
vj	John Hush	iiij	Now George Stearn enterd ij short.
iiij	Elizabeth Blackwyn	iiij	
j	James Simpson	j	
ij	Thomas Wicks	ij	
iiij	William Bentley	iiij	
j	John Wicks	j	
		165*	
	New Entries.		
iiij	Charles Rabey	iiij	
(*sic*) j	John Rabey	iij	
iij	Granger Gent'	iij	
ij	George Shelverton	ij	
iiij	Martin Day	iiij	
ij	William Francis	ij	
iij	Robert Ford Gent'	iij	
ij	James English	ij	
	Goodwife Jesse	j	
	Goodwife Shipp	j	
	Goodwife Munsey	j	
	Sibley widow	j	
	Thomas Hitches	j	

* Lay Subsidies, Cambridgeshire $\frac{84}{437}$. Cheaveley Hundred, MS., P.R.O.

New Entries.	
Huffe widow	ij
John Slavers . .	j
William Cobb . .	j
Thomas Froward .	j
ix[li]. vij[s].	33

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For that part of the town situated in Lackford Hundred, county Suffolk, no assessment is extant for this date, but according to a somewhat later return (subjoined), the number of hearths therein chargeable was one hundred and sixty-four, and fifteen not chargeable, from which it would appear that, at this period, the High-street pretty evenly divided Newmarket in the counties of Cambridge and Suffolk.*

NEWMARKET.

Chargeable.	No. of hearths.
M[rs] Margrett Funston . . .	12
The Cocke	3
Thomas Ashlocke	2
Thomas Bentley	7
M[rs] Snapes	8
M[rs] Balls	8
Wid' Bentley	3
Henry Bentley	3
Jo: Warren	1
Henry Sotherton	10
William Cod	5
Walter Doulton	9
M[r] Clayton	3
Thomas Constable	7
William Briant	5
William Griggs	2
Francis Greene	5
William Bentley	7
Jo: Bridgman	7

* Lay Subsidies, Suffolk $\frac{153}{605}$. MS., P. R. O. (Mutilated fragments.)

NEWMARKET.

Chargeable.	No. of Hearths.
Allen Wiatt	8
Jo: Briant sen[r]	4
Mary Ward	4
Thomas Ray	6
Jos Huske	9
Goody Thorinton	3
Rich Morley	[MS. mutilated.]
Jo: Briant J[r]	[MS. mutilated.]
M[r] William	[MS. mutilated.]
Geo: Barret	[MS. mutilated.]
Rich: Nelso	[MS. mutilated.]
Jo: Wedon	[MS. mutilated.]
James Goodi	[MS. mutilated.]
Willm̃ Owne	[MS. mutilated.]
M[rs] Nampp	3
Eliz Collin	6
James Jackson	4
Jo: Matchett	2
Mathew Bruehett	1
Jo: Hattfeild	2
Rich: Benfeild	5
[MS. mutilated.] Newton	2
[MS. mutilated.] Green	6
[MS. mutilated.] Briant	3
[MS. mutilated.] Rabby	1
[MS. mutilated.] afford	2
[MS. mutilated.] Murrell	2
[MS. mutilated.] nstable	3
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NEWMARKET.

Not Chargeable.	No. of hearths.
John Clarke	1
Willim̃ Durhant	1
Tho: Reeve	1
Ben: Burrowes	2

NEWMARKET.

Not Chargeable.	No. of Hearths.
Thomas Norton	1
Thomas Harvey	1
Sam: Mortlack	1
John Bently	2
Mary Sare	1
Willm Mason	1
Robt' Howlett	1
Willm. Ashfeilds	1
Robt'. Memstead * . . .	[*MS. mutilated.*]

[*MS. mutilated.*]

In order to explain the nature and description of the Hearth-money returns relating to Newmarket it is necessary to glance back to the meeting of the first Parliament after the Restoration. Charles II. The king, in his speech on the passing of the Indemnity Bill, gave his faithful Commons a broad hint that some more money for himself and his brothers would be very welcome. The Houses had already been considering the jointure of the Queen-mother, and had made her a present of £20,000, and they now voted £10,000 more to the Duke of York, £7000 more to the Duke of Gloucester, and £5000 for repairs of his Majesty's houses. The vaster business of providing securely a further annual revenue of £1,200,000 for the king occupied much of the attention of the Commons; but as it involved some difficult questions, and especially that of the proper mode of raising so much of the sum as had hitherto come from unconstitutional prerogatives which his Majesty was now

* Lay Subsidies. Suffolk, $\frac{163}{665}$. MS., P. R. O.

expected to resign, it was found impossible to perfect arrangements before the recess, and the Houses had to content themselves with a Bill providing an immediate supply of £100,000 on account. The provision of means for disbanding the army and reducing the navy had, however, been thoroughly managed, and when Parliament reassembled there was a clear course for the race for the royal revenue.

The excise had been introduced by the Parliament, to defray the charges of the war against Charles I. To reconcile the nation to so odious a tax, it was first voted for a short period only; and though it had been continued ever since by successive grants, an understanding always existed, that, as nothing but necessity could justify the imposition, so it should most certainly cease with that necessity. Now, however, a moiety of the excise was settled on the king for the term of his natural life, and from that moment, all hope of its extinction vanished, and in a short time the streamlet swelled into a golden river. The excise which then only produced £300,000 a year (it now yields over £27,000,000) had to be supplemented; and for the object of obtaining sufficient funds to pay the annual grant of £1,200,000 to the king, the Hearth-money was instituted.*

Hearth-money, otherwise called chimney-money,

* The Excise Act vested in the Crown for ever 15*d.* from every barrel of superior beer; 4*d.* from every barrel of inferior beer; 15*d.* from every hogshead of cider or perry; ½*d.* from every gallon of metheglin or mead; 6*d.* from every barrel of so-called "vinegar-beer;" 1*d.* from every gallon of aqua vitæ or strong water; 4*d.* from every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, or tea, besides higher duties proportionately from imported ales, cider or perry, or strong waters.

was a tax to the crown formerly imposed on houses. By the Statute 14 Charles II. chapter 2, every hearth and stove of every dwelling or other house, within England and Wales (except such as pay not to church and poor), was chargeable with two shillings per annum, payable at Michaelmas and Lady-day, to the king and his heirs and successors, etc., which payment was commonly called chimney-money. This tax, being much complained of as burdensome to the people, was abolished, and others imposed in its stead, among which that on windows has by some been esteemed equally grievous.

Dr. Fuller, in his "History of the Worthies of England," published in 1662, curiously enough, does not mention horse-racing in his description of Cambridgeshire. He pays a high tribute to the eels produced in that county, and only incidentally refers to Newmarket thus: "*Hares.* Though these are found in all counties, yet because lately there was in this Shire an *Hare-Park* nigh *New-Market*, preserved for the King's game, let them here be particularly mentioned. Some prefer their sport in hunting before their flesh for eating, as accounting it melancholick meat, and hard to be digested, though others think all the hardness is how to come by it. All the might of this silly creature is in the flight thereof, and I remember the answer which a school-boy returned in a latine distick, being demanded the reason why Hares were so fearfull—

> Cur metuunt lepores? Terrestris, nempe, marinus,
> Æthereus quod sit, tart areusque caius.

Whether or no they change their sex every year (as some have reported) let Huntsmen decide. These late years of our civil wars have been very destructive unto them, and no wonder, if *no law* hath been given to hares, when so little hath been observed towards men."

Fuller refers in derision to Draytons poetic panegyric on the celebrity of the horses of Wales, according to whom that race were indebted for their swiftness to the wind, by which they were supposed to be begotten. The worthy Doctor, in commending the horses of Hertfordshire, remarks that "their Teams (oft-times deservedly advanced from the Cart to the Coach) are kept in excellent equipage, much alike in colour and stature, fat and fair, such is their care in dressing and great feeding of them. I could name the place and person (Reader, be not offended with an innocent digression), who brought his servant with a warrant before a *Justice of the Peace* for stealing his grain. The man brought his fine horses tailed together along with him, alleging for himself 'That, if he were the Theefe, these were the Receivers,' and so escaped."

Among other passing events at Newmarket a brief reference may be permitted to the administration of local affairs upon that part of the manor belonging to the Alingtons, in, and adjoining, the town within the confines of the county of Suffolk. The court rolls of this manor deal, chiefly, with the ordinary routine affairs of the copyhold tenants, and are, in general, too diffuse and uninteresting to require much notice at our hands. This court assem-

Local affairs.

bled every year to execute the ordinary duties pertaining to the estate, so far as its functions extended. Among other things, it had to appoint the constables, the pindar, the sealers, the inspectors of weights and measures, etc., who were re-elected annually to perform the duties of these several offices within the jurisdiction of the court. At those meetings a chairman of the jury was first elected, by the tenants assembled at the court, of whom eight usually formed a quorum. The pindar's fees were submitted for approval, approved, and scheduled, and were pretty stationary in those days as follows:—For every single horse taken in damage 4*d.*; if more than one of the same person's, 6*d.*; for every stray horse, 1*s.*; for every cow, 4*d.*; for a hog, 2*d.*; if more than one of the same person's, 6*d.* Sheep were to be kept out of the stubble till all the corn was taken into the haggards—any infringement subjecting the sheep so trespassing to be pounded and the owner amerced in 10*s.* No horse was allowed to graze on the balks until the harvest had commenced, any horse so offending subjecting its owner to a fine of 2*s.* 6*d.*; and every drove of geese coming on the stubble in trespass, involved the owner of the "drove" in fine of 5*s.* for each offence. The other matters which the court had to take cognizance of need no notice at our hands.*

A curious dispute touching the rectory of Cheveley engaged the magistrates of Newmarket during *their* October meeting in 1660. It appears that in July,

* MS. Court Rolls now belonging to the Duke of Rutland, in the custody of Messrs. Fenn, D'Albani, and Ellis, solicitors, Newmarket.

1646, the Rev. Abraham Wright, M.A., was placed in the rectory of Cheveley, by the authority of Parliament, he having been approved of by the Assembly of Divines, *vice* the Rev. B. Levitt, loyalist parson, sequestrated, who died in December, 1659. The year following (being the year of the king's restoration) an Act was passed by which all such ministers as were in mort livings, where the sequestrated incumbent was dead, were settled in them during their lives. But in this case it appears that a Mr. John Deker, having procured a presentation to the living of Cheveley from Lady Carleton, the patroness, went to the Bishop of Ely, and having got an institution and induction, came to take possession of the parsonage house; but that being denied to him, he, Deker, with Sir John Carleton, (Lady Carleton's son) persuaded the people to detain the harvest-tithes for him, on the grounds that he (Deker) was the right parson and that Parson Wright was in the wrong rectory. This pretty quarrel between the rival rectors of Cheveley regarding the loaves and fishes of the benefice, came before the magistrates at Newmarket, by whom Parson Wright was summoned to attend at their court, while the right parson (Deker) "procured some of the looser sort of people in Cheveley to swear against him," upon what charges does not appear. The upshot of the magisterial inquiry resulted in Parson Wright being ordered to resign the living to the right parson (Deker) because Parson Wright "was not in holy orders"; and the magistrates further decreed that if he did not admit the right parson (Deker) to take

peaceable possession of the rectory and its tithes, the Magistrates would send the sheriff to turn him (Wright) out. This order was executed October 28th, 1660, when Mr. Wright "with three small children and the rest of the the family were turned into the street." Parson Wright appealed to the courts in London with the object of establishing his right to the rectory, and after many curious trials—in which he got the best of the right rector (Deker)—and finally as he was on the point of gaining the suit, the new law against non-conformants having come into operation—Wright declining to conform, he was of course non-suited. "About the same time it pleased God to arrest Mr. Deker with sickness, so that he could not prosecute the business. He died the latter end of November following; and on his deathbed acknowledged, that instead of gaining, he was £200 worse than at his coming thither." Such charity, brotherly love, and religion! Wright, the wrong rector, died in 1685, "aged 80 or upwards." *

The first reference to the races at Newmarket, in the reign of Charles II., relates to the spring meeting in 1663.

Charles II. 1663. Newmarket. March.

In a letter from Thomas Ross, a gentleman in the suite of the Duke of Monmouth, dated Newmarket, March 11, 1662–3, addressed to Joseph Williamson, Esq., "Secretary to the Right Hon. Sir Henry Bennet, Principal Secretary of State, Whitehall," the writer requests the minister to obtain from the king, and send him, a royal mandate

* "The Nonconformist's Memorial," by Calamy and Palmer, vol. i., p. 314.

authorizing the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge to confer honorary degrees upon the duke, who was invited, and about to proceed to Alma Mater for that purpose. It seems academical favours of this nature could not be conferred without the consent and approval of the sovereign; and thus it came to pass that this epistle was written, and to it we are indebted for our information relating to the races at Newmarket at this date. Ross incidentally mentions that "there is nothing but cursed noise, of matches, and wagers, boldly asserted wth as horrible oaths," at that place where his lord, "who is an indefatigable sportsman," was enjoying good health. "This day the first race was run between the Duke of Richmond[170] and L^d of Suffolke[171] who lost the day, and the Duke won an 100^li though in the morning hee got a very terrible fall in running a horse of my Lord of Tumonds,[172] who tooke up the Duke bleeding at mouth, and dead for a time, but hee got home, let blood, took Sperm-cete, and went after diner to see his horse run, and immediately after to bed, and is now aslepp being 10 at night (Wednesday) for the wch I shall suspend it [the letter] till I see y^u, for till then I shall be hardly able to say whither Cole or Miller, or any other of the distinguished horses will win, or who else was like to break his neck, but this I will assure you, for mine owne part, I will hazard neither my owne neck, nor money, but preserve my selfe to aske your pardon for this, and to assure you that I am most cordially your dear friend, &c.

"Thos. Ross." *

* State Papers, Dom., Charles II., vol. lxix., No. 56, MS., P. R. O.

Unfortunately, no further information is given about those "distinguished horses," and whether Cole or the Miller won is now forgotten.*

In August the surveyor of the stables to the king again brought his little bill of £735 8*s.* 10*d.* for repairs and buildings at Newmarket before the lord treasurer. The account was passed, docqueted, entered, but not settled.†

On the 20th his Majesty wrote to Sir John Cotton,[173] directing attention to the state of the grounds about Newmarket. During the Commonwealth it had been ploughed with narrow ridges, which he conceived might render hunting [racing] dangerous. Notice of this danger was to be given to the towns thereabout, and, from the respect the inhabitants had for his safety, he trusted they would forbear making ridges otherwise than formerly.‡ About this date the king was expected. Colonel Robert Ker received a warrant for £200 for his expenses "in bringing hounds

* On the 16th of March the Duke of Monmouth visited the University of Cambridge. In order to give greater honour to the duke's visit, the king, on the 13th of March, issued letters empowering the University to confer the degree M.A. on the duke, and on such persons as he should desire to recommend. The duke was accordingly admitted to that degree, as were thirty-four others whom he nominated, amongst whom were Sir Thomas Hatton, Bart., Sir William Whitmore, Bart., Sir George Elwes, Sir Thomas Whitmore, K.B., Sir Richard Hopton, Sir Thomas Ross, Sir Christopher Baker, and Sir Levinus Bennett. The University entertained the duke with a banquet and comedy at Trinity College, and the king is said to have been highly gratified with the attention paid to the duke on this occasion.—Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," vol. iii., p. 509.

† Account of John Bayspoole, Esq., Surveyor of the Stables in the Mews, amounting to £250, being part of £660 15*s.* to him impressed upon account for the rebuilding of his Majesty's stables at Newmarket, and other work at the Mews, &c.—Audit Office, Declared Accts., Works, Bundle 2476, Rot. 251, MS., P.R.O.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxix. Entry Book 15, p. 172.

to Newmarket, for the king's disport," and in November orders were issued to take care that no person coursed with greyhounds within ten miles of the town, and that no hounds but his Majesty's be allowed to hunt within seven miles, great abuses having been lately committed with the game there.*

[170] Charles Stuart, 6th Duke of Lennox in Scotland, 4th Earl of March, and 3rd Duke of Richmond, (of the Stuart family bearing this title) succeeded to the family honours and estates on the death of his cousin, Esme Stuart, 2nd Duke of Richmond, August 14, 1660. This nobleman, in consideration of his father, George, Lord D'Aubigny, and his uncle, Bernard Stuart's gallant services in the royal cause, had been created, by King Charles I., by letters patent, dated December 10, 1645, Baron Stuart, of Newberry, county Berks, and Earl of Lichfield. His grace married, 1st, Elizabeth, relict of Charles, Viscount Mansfield, and daughter of Richard Rogers, Esquire, of Bryanstown, county Dorset; 2ndly, Margaret, widow of William Lewis, Esquire, of the Van, and daughter of Lawrence, son and heir of Sir Robert Banaster, Bart, of Papenham, Berks; and 3rdly, Frances-Teresa, daughter of Walter Stuart, third son of Walter, Lord Blantyre, but, dying without heirs, December 12, 1672, at Elsenure, where he then resided as Ambassador-extraordinary from Charles II. to the court of Denmark, all his dignities became extinct. His grace was a Knight of the Garter, a good jockey, and a notable partron of the Turf. "La Belle Stuart," the Britannia of our coins, who became the third wife of the third Duke of Richmond in March, 1667, was admitted to be the finest horse-woman at the court of the Merry Monarch. As she was a frequent *habitué* at Newmarket it may not be out of place, to briefly allude to her here. She was born about the year 1647, and claimed a kind of Scotch kindred to the king, and, we believe, "had her claims allowed." She

* *Ibid.*, vol. lxxxiv., No. 5.

was educated in France, and came over to England in the train of the Queen Dowager, Henrietta Maria, in 1662. Of her early history but little is known, except that Louis XIV. was an ardent admirer of her person. Shortly after her arrival at the English court she was appointed maid of honour to Queen Catherine and had the king among her many suitors. This *liaison* probably originated in his constantly meeting her in the apartments of the Duchess of Cleveland, who, little aware of the dangerous rival she was fostering, had taken the new beauty into favour, and invited her to all the entertainments which she made for the king. Among other civilities, she frequently detained Miss Stuart to pass the night in her apartment, and, as it was the daily practice of Charles to visit his mistress before she rose, he constantly found them in bed together. His attachment for Miss Stuart seems to have approached nearer to true love than any other of his libertine attachments. Her appearance on horseback was classically graceful and picturesque. Pepys gives a graphic description of the return of a court party after a ride, at which Charles and his queen were present, and in which Miss Stuart figured the observed of all observers. It was the peculiar elegance of her seat on horseback that captivated the sensitive George Hamilton when he presented her with the proffer of his heart, "and with one of the prettiest horses in England." The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Digby were also amongst her admirers; but they, like the king, failed to win the beauty. So paramount, however, was her influence over Charles, that it was commonly believed, even by those who were best acquainted with his disposition, that he would willingly have divorced his neglected queen, and have raised her maid of honour to the throne. The world, however on this score, at least, did him singular injustice. About this time the Duke of Richmond having made her a solemn offer of his hand, she determined to brave the anger of the king and to secure the proud coronet which was within her reach. The union, under the circumstances, could only take place surreptitiously, and it was necessary to resort to the inevitable elopement. Accordingly on a stormy night in March

1667, she made her escape from her apartments in Whitehall Palace, and joined the duke at a small inn in Westminster; from thence they fled on horseback to Epsom, where they were married on the following morning by the duke's chaplain. The anger of Charles, when he discovered the flight of his idol, was excessive; the royal visit to the spring meeting at Newmarket was abandoned in consequence; and indeed it was one of the very few instances in which he permitted the excitement of the moment to outstep the bounds of politeness. The good-natured monarch soon forgave her the pain she had caused him, and accordingly, the year after her marriage we find her appointed a lady of the bedchamber to Queen Catherine, and apartments allotted to her in Somerset House. From the time of her marriage, Charles, it is said, had no reason to complain of her want of compliance; indeed he was so drunk at a party at Lord Townshend's as to boast to the duke her husband of the favours which his beautiful wife had conferred on him. About this period "La Belle Stuart" was frequently at Newmarket, where her prowess as an equestrian frequently elicited high praise by the horse-coursers of that era. It was during a race meeting on the Heath that Philip Rotier, the sculptor, sketched her splendid figure, and after retouching it in the pose of a recumbent Diana (the *venabula* stupidly altered to a *trident*) has perpetuated her likeness under the form of Britannia as we find it on the coinage from that day to this. Felton, in his notes on Waller, says: "so exact was the likeness, that no one who had ever seen her Grace could mistake who had sat for Britannia." An attack of the small pox (at a somewhat later period) almost entirely destroyed her surpassing loveliness, but her figure seems to have still retained the points for which it was so deservedly admired. This merry Duchess died, after a widowhood of thirty years, during the Newmarket October meeting of 1702, lamented by all who knew her.

[171] James Howard, 3rd Earl of Suffolk, Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk and Essex, gentleman of the bedchamber, of whom later.

[172] Henry O'Brien, 7th EARL OF THOMOND, eldest son and heir of Sir Bryan or Barnaby O'Brien, 6th Earl of Thomond, (knighted by James I., July 21, 1615, created Marquis of Billing, by Privy Seal, by Charles I. in 1645 but the Great Seal not being then within the royal power, the patent never passed) and Mary, daughter of Sir James Fermer, Knight, was custos rotulorum of the county Clare, *circa* 1663. He married, 1st, in 1641, Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Henry O'Brien, 5th Earl of Thomond, and by her (who died 1645), had a son, Henry, Lord Ibracken, M.P. for Clare in 1661, married Lady Catherine Stuart, sister of Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Baroness Clifden, in her own right, and by her (who married secondly Sir Joseph Williamson) had issue Donagh, Lord Ibracken, drowned when accompanying James, Duke of of York, to Scotland. He married Lady Sophia Osborne, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Leeds, and had issue George, who died young; Mary, married to John Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare; Catherine, married to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. Lord Ibracken died December 1, 1678. The Earl of Thomond married, 2ndly, in 1660, Sarah, daughter of Sir Francis Russell, of Chippenham, near Newmarket, and by her he had issue, Henry Horatio, Lord Ibracken, married in 1686, Henrietta, second daughter of Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, K.G. and died vitâ patris, aged 21, at Chester, having had issue, Henry, the 8th and last Earl of Thomond; Henrietta, widow of Lord Ibracken, who married, 2ndly, Henry, Earl of Suffolk. Elizabeth died unmarrried, June 3, 1688. Penelope, married Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, and was mother of Charles William, 7th Earl of Suffolk; she died in December, 1703, and was buried at Saffron Walden. Mary, married Sir Mathew Dudley, Bart., of Clopton, Northamptonshire, and died November 9, 1735.

The Earl of Thomond (who died at his seat, Billing, county Northampton, in May, 1691) was an *habitué* at Newmarket (where he had a house of twelve hearths, subsequently purchased by Charles II.) and at other race courses in England. His Lordship and some other members of his family were prominent patrons of the Turf, in the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries. The race horses belonging to the O'Briens in a great measure owed their fame to the drafts, sent by order of Parliament to General Jones to Ireland, from the ex-royal stud at Tutbury in the year 1649; those animals having been subsequently acquired by the Earl of Thomond who carefully preserved them and kept the breed pure during many generations.

[173] Sir John Cotton, Bart.—eldest sonand successor of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., M.P. for the county of Huntingdon, and his first wife, Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Howard, of Naworth—succeeded his father, May 13, 1662. He was M.P. for the borough of Huntingdon in the reign of Charles II., and for the county in the time of James II. He married, 1st, Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Edmund Anderson, of Stratton and Eyworth, in the county of Bedford, by whom he had a son and a daughter; and, 2ndly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Honywood, Knight, of Marks Hall, Essex. By this lady he had several children, but only three to survive, viz. Robert, who succeeded as 5th baronet, Elizabeth, and Mary.

The following is a copy of the original articles for the twelve-stone plate instituted by the king in 1665, to be run for over the new round course at Newmarket on the second Thursday in October, "for ever":—

Charles II. 1665. Newmarket.

"Artícles ordered by his Majestie to be observed by all persons that put in horses to run for the Plate, the new Round-heate at Newmarkett, set out the 16th day of October, in the 17th yeare of our Soveraign Lord King Charles II. Which Plate is to be rid for yearly, the seconde Thursday in October, for euer:

"Imprím's.—That euery horse, mare, or gelding that rideth for this prize shalbe led out between eleven and twelve

of the clock in the forenoon, and shalbe ready to start by one of the same day.

"Item—Eury horse that rideth shalbe bridled, saddled, and shod, and his rider shall weigh twelve stone, fourteen pounds to the stone; and eury rider that wanteth above one pound and a halfe after he hath rid the heat, shall win no plate or prize.

"Item—Eury horse that rides the new Round Course three times over (set out the 16th day of October, in the 17th year of King Charles II.) on the outside of the Ditch from Newmarket, shall leave all the posts and flags the first and last heats on the right hand, and the second on the left hand, starting and ending at the weighing post, by Cambridge Gap, called Thomond's Post.

"Item—Whatsoever horse rideth willingly, or for advantage, within any of the said flags, shall win no plate or prize, but lose his stakes, and ride no more; but if he be thrust by any horse against his will, then he shall lose only the heate; prouided he keeps all the rest of the flags, and come within distance.

"Item—It is allowed for any horse to be relieved at the discrec'on of the owner at the end of each heat, and eury horse shall haue half an hour's time to rub between each heat.

"Item—Whosoever doth stop or stay any of the horses that rideth for this plate or prize, if he be either owner, servant, party, or bettor, and it appears to be willingly done, he shall win no plate, prize, or bets.

"Item—Euery rider that layeth hold on, or striketh any of the riders, shall win no plate or prize.

"Item—If any horse, mare, or gelding, shall fall by any mischance, so that the rider be dismounted, and if does his best afterwards to get within distance, and ride fair (which shall be determined by the Judges of the Field) he shall only lose the heat.

"Item—Any of the Judges may weigh any of the riders at the end of any of the heats; and if he be found to have fraudulently cast away any of his weight, and want any

more than his pound and a halfe, he shall lose the plate, prize, and stakes.

"Item—If any difference shalbe about riding for this plate, which is not expressed in these articles, it shalbe referred to the noblemen and gentlemen which are then present, and being contributors to the said plate; but more especially the Judges, the Judge being to be chosen every time the plate or prize is run for, by the major part of the contributors that are there present.

"Item—Eury horse that winneth three heats shall win the plate or prize, without running the course.

"Item—Eury horse that runneth for the plate or prize shall put in three pounds, except it be a contributor's horse, and then he shall put in forty shillings.

"Item—Whosoever winneth the plate or prize shall give to the Clerk of the Course twenty shillings, to be distributed to the poor on both sides of Newmarket, and twenty shillings to the Clerk of the Race; for which he is to keep the course plain and free from cart roots.

"Item—The Clerk of the Race is to receive the stakes before any horse starts, and is to deliver it to the tenant for the time being, who is to give sufficient security, not only for his rent, but likewise to add such stakes to the ensuing plate or prize the next year.

"Item—Eury Horse, Mare, or Gelding, that rideth for this plate or prize, shall likewise deposit twenty shillings for every heat, which the winning horse shall haue; and the last horse of every heat shall pay the second horse's stakes and his own, which stakes are likewise to be deposited into the Clerk of the Race's hands before the horses start, to pay the winning horse his stakes every heat, and likewise twenty shillings to the second horse, to save his stakes; but if there runneth but two horses, then no stakes to be run for but what is to add to the next year's plate.

"Item—No horse that winneth not one of the three Heats shalbe permitted to come in and run the course.

"Item—The plate or prize is to be run for the second Thursday in October, every rider carrying twelve stone weight, at fourteen pounds to the stone, besides bridle and saddle; and if any gentleman that rides shall carry weight in his saddle, he shall have liberty, provided he allows two pounds to the rest for the weight of their saddles.

"Item—The Clerk of the Race is to summons the riders to start again at the end of half an hour by the signal of drum, trumpet, or any other way, setting up an hour glass for that purpose.

"Item—No man is admitted to ride for this prize that is either a serving man or groom.

"Item—Those horses that after the running of the three heats shall run the four mile course, shall lead away, and start within an hour and halfe, or else to win no plate or prize." *

The first regal visit made by Charles II. to Newmarket, after the restoration, did not take place until March, 1666. Bearing in mind the prevalence of the king's sojourns at Newmarket at subsequent times, and the partiality he so frequently evinced for the "royal village" and its associations, it appears strange that he should have allowed six years to pass before he first came hither as sovereign. It is difficult to satisfactorily account for this. It may be attributed partly to his natural indolence, and to the seductive attractions of his gay court at Whitehall, Windsor, and Hampton, and partly to the absence of the luxuries he indulged in at those places being entirely wanting at New-

Charles II. 1666. March.

* MS. in the possession of the Jockey Club, Newmarket, contributed by William C. Manning, Esquire, custodian.

market. Here very little progress had been made with the restoration of the old palace, which was not the ghost of its former self; it still languished in ruins. Indeed, the projected re-building seems to have been abandoned—at least we can find no trace of any money having been expended on it (except the stables and gardens) during this interval. These circumstances, together with other well-known domestic, financial, and political occurrences, may account for Charles having neglected to renew his acquaintance with Newmarket during those six years. The death of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his sister, the Princess of Orange, the Dutch war, Parliamentary affairs, and the plague,* may also have conduced to the Merry Monarch's absence from Newmarket during this period.

At any rate, the Easter holidays of the year 1666 revived old associations. Charles set forth for Newmarket in March, to attend the spring meeting, in the success of which he doubtless evinced considerable interest, although the Twelve-Stone Plate, which had been founded by him in the preceding year, was not to be run for until the Autumn *réunion*. Notwithstanding all our researches, we have been unable to give a good description of this royal visit. The contemporary literature is vexatiously silent on the proceedings of the king and the court; not a single word is to be found in print on the subject. And the manuscripts we have consulted are but little better. However, it seems that the king's journey and sojourn extended to

* The total mortality within the year was 68,596. In London the traffic on the river was suspended; the streets became deserted, and were covered with grass.

eight days. The exact date of his departure from London, his arrival at Newmarket, or his return to town, has not transpired. We may, however, safely assume, that in this, like subsequent visits, Charles was accompanied by some of the ministers of state, and the usual court officials. It is also probable that the Guards were on duty.* And it is a singular fact that several members of Parliament were his guests at Newmarket on this occasion at a cost, for their lodging, of £189.

The officers of the tents, hales, and pavilions, usually accompanied the court to Newmarket, whither were brought the necessary adjuncts relating to that department of the royal household, which cost from £7000 to £8000 a year. Several new tents, etc., were made each year, and the old ones repaired, the cost of each being duly set forth in detail. To take one of these rolls as a specimen, we find, for instance, an account of the cost of making tents for the Lord Chamberlain, the gentlemen ushers, the captain and officers of the guard, the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and similar officials; hales for the carriage and pad horses, etc., and pavilions especially pitched for *al fresco* entertainments of a sylvan style. Then an entry occurs for "two strong Tents to goe with the Toyles to watch and keepe them from being cutt &

* The Royal Guard consisted of George, Lord Grandison, the Captain, who received £1000 per annum; Colonel Thomas Howard, the Lieutenant, £500; Henry Dutton Colt, Esquire, £300; Charles Villiers, Esquire, Clerk of the Cheque, £150; William Houghton, Roger Gardner, John Powney, and Thomas Hewet, Esquires, Corporals, £150 each, and 100 Yeomen at £30 each per annum, the whole numbering 108 persons, at a cost of £5500 yearly.

stolen," similar ones for the officers of the buckhounds, the physicians in attendance, and so on (*mutatis mutandis*) throughout the series.*

During this visit it seems that Charles had no local habitation or home of his own in Newmarket, and in all probability his headquarters was at Audley End, where he was nobly entertained by the Earl of Suffolk. Very likely the Earl of Thomond's house in the town was his temporary residence; and that he was entertained at Chippenham, Saxum, and elsewhere in the vicinity of Newmarket during the meeting. At this time, at any rate, "the glory of Newmarket," of which the poet sang, must have been rather eclipsed:—

> "In days of ease, when now the weary sword
> Was sheathed, and luxury with Charles restored,
> In every taste of foreign courts improved,
> All, by the king's example, lived and loved.
> Then peers grew proud in horsemanship t' excell—
> Newmarket's glory rose, as Britain's fell—"
>
> Pope's *Imitation of Horace.*

After the races were over, the king returned to London, *viâ* Bury St. Edmunds, and thus ended his first visit, as sovereign, to Newmarket.

To Nicholas Woodgate his Ma^ts^ Harbinger for himselfe and two Yeomen Harbingers for their Attend^ance^ on his Matie to Audley End, New Markett and St Edmunds Bury by the space of viij^t^ dayes by warr^t^ dated the xxviij^th^ of March 1666 . . . vij^li^ xij^s^.—Audit Office Records, Declared Accounts, Rot. 90.

"To Roger Whilley Esqr his Ma^ts^ Knight Harbinger for his attendance at Newmarkett for the space of viij^t^ dayes at the rate of x^s^ ℔ diem for himselfe and v^s^ ℔ diem to each of

* Audit Office Records, Declared Accs., Bundle 2297, Rot. 1–40.

his men, with xl[li] for his extraordinary attendance for severell dayes together from morning till x[en] of the clocke at night, for the Lodging the members of Parliament by like warrant dated the xxix[th] of March 1666 Ciiij ix[xx]li."—Wardrobe Acc. Treasurer of the Chamber (Sir Edward Griffin), Bundle 6, m. 64. Series I. Box G. Exch. L. T. R. MSS., P. R. O. (The Cofferers Accounts for this, and some subsequent years, unfortunately are not extant. These interesting manuscripts were probably lost when Temple Bar was demolished).

"The King says he will in March go to Audley End and to Newmarket, but not to lie there one night, but at Audley End and possibly at Saxham, and come to Newmarket and see the horse races and back at night. This you know being a hunting journey, may fall off; but being to see Audley End (which so many desire the King should buy) I think it must be business only that will hinder it."—George Walsh to Henry Singesby, Whitehall, February 22, 1664-6, MSS., Sir R. Graham, Bart.

"I leave to other Letters to tell your Grace how well his Majesty hath been pleased with this Journey, how much he likes Audley End, and how desirous he is to treat with my Lord of Suffolk for it."—Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, Euston, March 13, 1665-6. "Miscellena Aulica," London, 1702.

The following brief account of this spring meeting at Newmarket does not throw much light on the sport at headquarters; but we must be thankful for small mercies—

Sir Paul Neile[174] writes to Henry Singesby as follows, relative to the races at Newmarkett, in March, 1666: "My [Lord] Garrett[175] had a forfeit paid him for a mach he had made with Mr. Elliot, and My Lord Excetter's[176] horse Boepeepe beat my Lord of Oxford's[177] horse Rainbow, so far that my Lord

Buckingham who maintained the horse could not sturne Bocpeepe, nor get indeed any trial of him. Lord Garrett beat Mr. May's gelding, and since we came away there have been 3 matches more. My Lord Buckingham ran the parson's mare, as they call her, with a gelding of Mr. Bar. Howard's,[178] and lost. My Lord Garrett ran his horse (to whom Mr. Elliott paid the forfeit) with my Lord Buckingham's horse Spavins, and lost. My Lord Townley's* horse Herring ran with Lord Suffolk's horse Whitefoot and won. The King was nobly entertained by Lord Suffolk, and I think will buy his house." †

[174] Sir Paul Neile (or Neale) was son and heir to Richard Neale, or Neil, who was promoted to the see of Lincoln in 1614. His right reverend sire had been successively Bishop of Rochester, Lichfield and Coventry, and he was afterwards removed to the see of Durham in 1617, and then to Winchester in 1627, and lastly to York, in 1631. He died October 31, 1640, three days before the Long Parliament began to sit, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Westminster. His memory was afterwards branded by the Puritans. Le Neve says William Ley, 4th Earl of Marlborough, married Margaret Hewit, daughter of Sir William Hewit, of Breccles, and on the demise of the earl, she became "mistress to S[r] Paul Neale son & heir to . . . Neale Ld. Bp. of Linc."

[175] Edmund Butler, 4th Viscount Mountgarret—eldest son and successor of Richard Butler, 3rd Viscount Mountgarret (ob. 1651) and Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone—during the Irish insurrection of 1641 (which proved so fatal to many of the old Anglo-Irish catholic families), served under his father, then general in

* One of the Townleys of Lancashire. See vol. i. pp. 355, 356.

† MSS. Sir Reginald Graham, Bart, Netherby, Cumberland.

command of the Irish forces. In January, 1641, he was one of the commissioners, deputed by the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, to take the city of Waterford into their government, and to seize all the goods of the English, for the maintenance of their rising, which was called "The Holy War of the Confederate Catholics;" but the mayor and corporation of that city prevented the attempt, and about the middle of March following, procured ships for the escape of the Protestants. He acted in concert with his father during the progress of the insurrection; whose example he followed in protecting the English, and endeavouring to restore peace to that kingdom, which had been goaded into rebellion by the fanaticism of Charles I. and the rapacity and incapacity of his unscrupulous ministers. At the Restoration, Viscount Mountgarret was restored to his estates, etc., and obtained the necessary pardon in conformity with the Act of Settlement. He married, 1st, Lady Dorothy Touchet, second daughter of Mervyn, Earl of Castlehaven, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; and 2ndly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Simeon, of Brightwell, by his wife, the Hon. Mary Vaux, one of the sisters and co-heirs of Henry Vaux, 5th Baron Vaux of Harrowden, and by that lady had an only son, Edward Butler, upon whom he settled Ballyragget and other extensive estates in the county Kilkenny. He died in 1679, and was succeeded by his son Richard, 5th Viscount Mountgarret.

[176] John Cecil, 4th EARL OF EXETER—eldest son of David Cecil, the 3rd Earl and Lady Elizabeth Egerton, daughter of John, 1st Earl of Bridgewater—born 1628, succeeded to the honours and estates of his family on the death of his father, April 18, 1643. He married, 1st, Frances, daughter of John, Earl of Rutland, by whom he had issue, John his successor, David, who died young, and a daughter, Frances, married to John, Viscount Scudamore. His first wife dying December 2, 1660, his lordship married, 2ndly, Mary, daughter of Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, widow of Sir Brian Palmes, of Ashwell, county Rutland, but by her he had no issue. He

died at Stamford, March 18, 1687–8, and was succeeded by his only surviving son John, Lord Burghley, the 5th earl. The Earl of Exeter was constituted lord-lieutenant of the county of Northampton, July 17, 1662, and on March 16, 1666, Henry, Earl of Peterborough, was joined with him for the better execution of that office, but soon after the former earl undertook the management of the eastern division and the latter the western division of the county.

[177] Aubrey de Vere, 20th and last Earl of Oxford, K.G. This nobleman succeeded his father, Robert, 19th Earl of Oxford (who fell at the siege of Maestrich, where he commanded a regiment chiefly composed of English volunteers), in 1632, when he was but six years of age, and in ward to Charles I. In 1648 he had command of a regiment of English infantry in the service of the States-general. During the civil wars he espoused the royal cause, and suffered much in consequence, but after the Restoration he was sworn of the Privy Council, made a Knight of the Garter, and appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Essex. He married, 1st, Anne, daughter and co-heir of Paul Viscount Bayning, by whom he had no issue. He married, 2ndly, Diana, daughter of George Kirk, Esq., one of the grooms of the bed-chamber to Charles I., by whom he had four daughters, who died young, and Diana married to Charles Beauclerk (illegitimate son of Charles II.), Duke of St. Albans. This lady eventually became sole heiress of her father, and representative of Aubrey de Vere, last Earl of Oxford. The earl died "at a miserable cottage," March 12, 1702, and with him the very ancient earldom of Oxford, which had passed through twenty generations, is supposed to become extinct. Chief Justice Crew, on one occasion, thus referred to the De Veres: "I heard a great peer of this realm, and a learned say, when he lived there was no king in Christendom had such a subject as Oxford. He came in with the Conqueror, Earl of Guynes; shortly after the Conquest, made Great Chamberlain of England, above five hundred years ago, by Henry I. the Conqueror's son, brother to Rufus; by Maud, the empress, Earl of Oxford; confirmed and

approved by Henry II. *Alberico comiti*, so earl before. This great honour, this high and noble dignity hath continued ever since in the remarkable surname of De Vere, by so many ages, descents, and generations, as no other kingdom can produce such a peer in one and the same self title. I find in all this length of time, but two attainders of this noble family, and those stormy and tempestuous times, when the government was unsettled, and the kingdom in competition. I have laboured to make a covenant of myself, that affection may not press upon judgment, for I suppose that there is not many that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness, but his affection stands to the continuance of so noble a name and house, and would take hold of a twig or a twine thread to uphold it. And yet, time hath his revolutions; there must be a period and an end of all things temporal—*finis rerum*—an end of names and dignities and whatever is terrene, and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? Where is Mowbray? Where is Mortimer? Nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality! And yet let the name and dignity of De Vere stand so long as it pleased God."

[178] Colonel the Hon. Bernard Howard, younger son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, and grandson of Henry, 9th Earl of Norfolk. He was the Admiral Rous of his day in Turf matters. A detailed memoir of this notable turfite will be given in a subsequent volume.

The Chevalier de St. Evremond, who was at Newmarket during this meeting, was much pleased with the following conversation which he heard there between the king and an honest Worcestershire baronet, who was lately elected for a borough in that county. "The good-natured man came up to take his seat among us, and, as he lived in the neighbourhood of the royal oak, he

Charles II. Newmarket. 1666.

supposed that he could not pay a better compliment to his Majesty than by bringing him a branch of his old asylum. 'Who is that Antique' (said the king) 'with a withered branch in his hand?'—'It is Sir Thomas ——, Member for ——.'—*The King.* 'Sir Thomas, I am glad to see you. I hope you can give a good account of your friends in Worcestershire.'—*Sir Thomas.* 'I wish I could please your Majesty; but there is a blacksmith's wife——'—*The King.* 'No matter for her; I enquired only after the health of your family.'—*Sir Thomas.* 'Thank God! in good health. But this woman, please your Majesty——' —*The King.* 'What of her?'—*Sir Thomas.* 'Has sworn a child to your Majesty.'—*The King.* 'I am glad of it. I do remember that I met a woman, when I went a wood-cutting with Farmer Penderell.'—*Sir Thomas.* 'A rosy complexion, please your Majesty.'—*The King.* 'No matter! What become of the woman and her child?'—*Sir Thomas.* 'She is very well taken care of, please your Majesty. The church-wardens are my tenants, and I ordered them to allow her an upper sheet.'—*The King.* 'Fye, fye!'—*Sir Thomas.* 'Please your Majesty, I was near losing my election by it. Some of the parish were freemen, and they said that I, as a magistrate, ought to have sent a warrant to your Majesty, to give a bond to the parish, or to pay £10.'—*The King.* 'Why did you not do your duty?'—*Sir Thomas.* 'Because, please your Majesty, I thought it my duty not to do it. Your Majesty has been at great expense of late.'—*The King.* 'True, very true, Sir Thomas! What is that branch

in your hand? Some token, I suppose, by which you hold your lands.'—*Sir Thomas.* 'No; 'tis something by which your Majesty holds your lands. 'Tis a branch of that blessed oak which preserved your Majesty's precious life.'—*The King.* 'This is a wooden compliment; but it is honest, and I thank you for it. You have wit, Sir Thomas; why do not we see you oftener at court?'—*Sir Thomas.* 'I can do your Majesty much more service in the country, by keeping up a spirit of loyalty and good will towards my neighbours.'—*The King.* 'And how do you manage that point?'—*Sir Thomas.* 'I give them beef, and bid them fall to without the long grace of the Roundheads. Then I give 'em strong beer, and they cry "God bless your Majesty."'—*The King.* 'If that is the toast, Sir Thomas, you are the king; and, in truth, I think you govern with profound policy. Could I adopt the same measures, I should have much less trouble; but there is no finding beef enough for that hungry circle which you see here.'—*Sir Thomas.* 'God bless your Majesty! I have ten fat oxen in Worcestershire, and nine of them are heartily at your Majesty's service. . . . .' This bountiful offer," continues the chevalier, "of the honest baronet made the king laugh so violently that it put an end to the conversation. His Majesty told us, with great humour, what we had to expect, and added, that he hoped every member of the House would be as ready to give as Sir Thomas, that he might be able to find wine for the feast. This is a measure which I will promote with all my power; for the king's necessities are truly deplorable. Consider-

ing his extreme poverty, his good humour is astonishing. I believe there never was a prince at the same time so pleasant and so poor."

Audley End (frequently alluded to in connection with the royal visits to Newmarket) in the hundred of Uttlesford and county of Essex, is situated in a narrow valley at the western extremity of the parish of Saffron Walden, and distant one mile from the town bearing that name. It is 46½ miles by rail and 41 by road from London, 14½ from Cambridge, 12 from Royston, and 22 from Newmarket. Audley End was built by Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Treasurer of England in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The house has always been supposed to have been commenced in 1603, and to have occupied thirteen years before it was entirely finished. This mansion was designed for and intended to surpass in size and magnificence all the private residences in the kingdom. James I. frequently visited this palatial seat; and it was probably on one of these occasions that he made the remark so often quoted, that the house was too large for a king, though it might do for a lord treasurer: an observation which, as applied to a person who had the control of the public purse at a period when the expenditure was not strictly watched, might contain more justice than even the monarch himself imagined. The expense incurred in the building has been variously stated, and must, in the absence of all authentic data, in some measure remain matter of conjecture. Phillip, Earl of Pembroke, indeed, has recorded in a manuscript note preserved in a copy of Jones's "Stonehenge," that he heard Lord Treasurer Suffolk tell King James that, first and last, inside and outside, with furniture, it cost him £200,000: an enormous sum in those times.

The earliest references to the negotiation which ended in a deed of purchase by which Audley End was nominally acquired by Charles II., will be found in reference to the spring meeting at Newmarket in 1666. On the 10th of March the king, with the Duke of York, attended with several persons

of quality, left London *en route* to Newmarket, and arrived at Audley End the same day at noon. Pepys says the royal visitors returned to London on the 12th "with a fine train of gentlemen." During the king's visit the corporation of Walden presented his Majesty with a silver cup and cover filled with native grown saffron at a charge of £20. In October, 1668, the king, queen, and court occupied Audley End; but Lord Suffolk retained possession of the mansion some time longer, though the purchase had been agreed upon previously. The conveyance of the estate, in fact, was not executed till May 8, 1669. It recites "that the King, upon his own personal view and judgment, hath taken liking to the mansion called Audley End, with the park, out-houses, court-yards, orchards, gardens, stables, water-mills and appurtenances, as a seat fit his Majesty's residence; the ancient houses of the crown having been in a great manner destroyed and demolished during the late times of usurpation, and therefore thought fit to purchase the same at the price of £50,000." Of this sum £30,000 only was forthcoming, and the remainder was left upon mortgage.

The fact is that in all likelihood Charles II. never cared much for Audley End. But prior to the year 1669, when he purchased the premises which then became his "new" palace at Newmarket, Audley End was a convenient centre for the court during the race meetings at Newmarket. Up to this date he had probably no habitable residence in Newmarket; and after this time Audley End was a useful sanctuary for the queen and such of the moral ladies of the court who did not care to be brought too closely in contact with fair and frail beauties so prominently identified with Newmarket during the royal sojourns there. At Audley End the stables and paddocks were superior to Newmarket at this period, and this circumstance doubtless was an important factor in inducing Charles to close with Lord Suffolk for the so-called purchase of the place. But the fact is the purchase was never completed; and in most of the contemporary references to Audley End it is alluded to as Lord Suffolk's seat.

However, in October, 1670, the court was located here.

Mr. Henshaw, one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, in a letter to Sir Robert Paston (afterwards Earl of Yarmouth), dated October 13, 1670, gives him the following account of the mode in which the queen and her ladies amused themselves during this visit: "Last week there was a Faire neare Audley End, the Queen, the Dutchess of Richmond, and the Dutchess of Buckingham, had a frolick to disguise themselves like country-lasses, in red petticoates, wastcoats, &c, and so goe see the Faire. Sir Bernard Gascoign, on a cart-jade, rode before the Queen, another stranger before the Dutchesse of Buckingham, and Mr. Roper before Richmond. They all so overdone it in their disguise, which look'd so much more like the Antiques than Country volk, that as soon as they came to the Faire the people began to goe after them; but the Queen going to a booth to buy a pair of yellow stockings for her sweet hart, and Sir Bernard asking for a pair of gloves, stitcht with blue, for his sweet hart, they were soon, by their gebrish, found to be strangers, which drew a bigger flock about them. One amongst them had seen the Queen at dinner, knew her, and was proud of her knowledge; this soon brought all the Faire into a crowd to stare at the Queen. But thus discovered, they, as soon as they could, got to their horses; but as many of the Faire as had horses got up with their wives, children, sweet harts, or neighbours behind them, to get as much gape as they could till they brought them to the Court gate. Thus, by ill conduct, was a merry frolick turned into a pennance."

In September, 1671, the queen, attended by several ladies of quality and court officials, was again at Audley End. Several other royal visits took place during the reign of Charles II., which we need not stop to particularize. There is no reason to suppose that James II. was ever at Audley End subsequently to his accession to the throne. William III. was there in 1689, when he received a similar tribute from the corporation of Walden to that which had been given to Charles II.

Lord Suffolk, and his successor, the fourth earl, seem to have resided at Chesterford Park, after the sale of Audley End,

which was committed to the charge of one of the family, who held the office of Housekeeper and Keeper of the Wardrobe, with a salary ; and this arrangement continued till 1701, when the house and park were conveyed to Henry Howard, fifth Earl of Suffolk, upon condition of relinquishing all claim to the £20,000 which had remained on mortgage from the year 1668 ; nor is it clear that any interest had been ever paid upon it. The principal was, indeed, secured upon the Duties on Hearths and Stones in Ireland ; but the Parliament thought proper to abolish that tax, which probably induced Lord Suffolk to release the crown from the debt, and to re-establish himself in the seat of his ancestors. It has always been asserted that William III., previously to this arrangement, took away many valuables from the house, for which the family never received any remuneration ; and especially the tapestry, which had been valued at £4500, and was sent to the Palace of Loo, in Holland, if Lady Falkland's tradition was correct. Horace Walpole, however, states that it went to Windsor Castle ; and that Lord Onslow purchased the marble pillars, formerly in the chapel. To these particulars may be added, that the fine old chimney-piece of oak, in the Master's Lodge of St. John's College, Cambridge, is still pointed out as having come from Audley End. This *ci devant* palace is now the property of Lord Braybrook, to whose father, Richard, third Lord Braybrook, we are indebted for a great deal of the information relating to this palatial seat in the seventeenth century.

At a court held at Whitehall, under the presidency of the king and all the chief ministers, on March 18, 1668, it was ordered to reduce the expenses attending the royal hawks by discontinuing the branches, hitherto maintained, known as "the heron and the crow." The cost of the "brook" and the "field" hawks, then amounting to £3151 2*s.* 8*d.*, was ordered to be reduced to £1594 17*s.* 6*d.* per

1668.

annum, with which the Master of the Hawks for the time being, was to provide and keep six cast of hawks for the brook, and as many for the field, and to defray all other charges, fees and salaries relating thereunto, according to the rules of that establishment.

All the salaries of the gamekeepers under the control of the Master of the Hawkes amounting to £504 8*s.* 4*d.* was ordered to be reduced, except those of Whitehall, Newmarket, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Richmond, whose salaries come to £107 15*s.* 10*d.* per annum. The game in other places to be preserved "by giving ye Power to Gentlemen of Quality" in such localities.

The expenses of the royal buckhounds were likewise considerably diminished.*

It is doubtful if the spring meeting at Newmarket was held this year; at any rate, there is no record of it having taken place; and it is certain neither the king nor the court went there before the month of May,† when some racing took place, as may be gathered from the appended fragmentary references to them :—

Charles II. 1668. Newmarket. May.

"*London, May* 23. On Thursday morning last his Majesty, accompanied by his Royal Highness, his Highness Prince *Rupert*, and attended on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, and several principal persons of the court, parted hence for *Newmarket*, intending to spend some days there and in the neigh-

* State Papers, Dom. Charles II., March. Bundle 40, No. 46.

† Expenss Dom. Re. Itinre ℔ Whitehall usque Newmarkett et regro mens May M^l^DClxviij Cxx^ti^, iij^l^ ob. q^r^.—"Accounts of the Cofferer and Keeper of the Great Wardrobe of the Household." Exchequer, L. T. R. Series I., box E. (Bundle 15 Charles I. to 20 Charles II.), MS., P. R. O.

bouring parts of that County"—The "London Gazette," May $\frac{21}{25}$, 1668.

Samuel Pepys writes on May 23, 1668, that it was raining hard all that day in London, consoling himself, however, with the reflection that "because the King and the Duke of York and the Court are at Newmarket, at a great horse-race, and proposed great pleasure for two or three days, but are in the same wet." But when Captain Forster dropped in to dinner next day it transpired they had fair weather at Newmarket, "though here nothing but rain, insomuch that the ways are mighty full of water, so hardly to be passed." * In a subsequent entry at this time he adds: "Being there on a Sunday, the Duke of Bucks preached an obscene sermon for the edification of the king and court on the Canticles." †

Lord Macaulay having gone on the wrong side of the post in this heat, we may perhaps be excused for stopping here to notice that, like another maligned monarch, Charles II. is not so black as he is painted. Owing to ignorance of the actual facts the popular historian handicaps the Merry Monarch with the erratic Sabbatarianism of the volatile Duke of Bucks. on this occasion; but the real truth is that the Sunday at Newmarket was regally kept with as much propriety in this reign as in that of William III., which is held up for our edification. For instance, Archdeacon Echard records that Dr. Calamy frequently preached before the court of Charles II. at Newmarket; ‡ and during this reign the Sabbath day, so far as the king and the Parliament were concerned, was observed with rigid

* Diary *sub. ann.*

† *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 488., edt. Lord Braybrooke.

‡ Rutt's "Life of Calamy," vol. i., p. 59. Some of the sermons preached at Newmarket before the court are printed in the reverend doctor's works.

respect. Indeed, Charles passed a law enforcing the observance of the Sabbath, which unfortunately still disgraces our Statute Book.

The full text of a sermon, preached before Charles II. at Newmarket, by Dr. Benjamin Calamy, on Proverbs i. 10—"If sinners entice thee, consent thou not"—will be found printed in his "Sermons Preached upon Several occasions."—London, 8vo, 1687. p. 67.

Next we have the following items relating to the October meeting of this year, which appears to have been a somewhat interesting *réunion*, as it was attended by the king, queen, and other members of the royal family, the chief ministers of state, and all the court officials.

October.

"To Roger Whitley Esqr His Ma^ts Knight Harbinger by vertue of a warr^t from the Lord Chamberlaine of his Ma^ts Household dated the xj^th of June 1668, for his & his two Assistants Attendance at New Markett xiij^en dayes, viz. from ye xiiij^th to the xxvij^th of May 1668 at the rate of x^s ℔ diem for himselfe, and v^s ℔ diem to each of his assistants by warr^t from the Right Hono^ble Edward Earle of Manchester late Lord High Chamberlayne of His Ma^ts Household dated ye xj^th of June 1688 . . . xiij^li.—Audit Office Records. Declared Accounts. Account of Sir Edward Griffin Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household. Bundle 398, Rot. 95."

"To Thomas Brereton, Thomas Wetherall, and William Cotton, Yeomen Harbingers in full for their shares, of xx^li xij^s allowed to Nicholas Woodgate, Gentleman Harbinger, and the said Yeomen at ix^s and v^s ℔ diem, for their attendance on his Matie at Newmarket xiij^n days in May 1668 . . . ix^li x^s.—(*Ibid.*, Rot. 119.)

Sir Nicholas Armourer[179] writes as follows from Cambridge, October 2, 1688, to Mr. Secretary William-

son at Whitehall: "This is to let you understand that after the death off a Fox & Leass off Hares besides a brave Horse race at Newmarket, I am to tarry at this town on my way to Kimbolton, where I entend to solace my selfe till Monday, the day his magestie intends to return to Newmarket when I hope to return thither. Pray fail me not to Lett me have a report of your Officer to-morrow night, It will be at Kimbolton upon Sunday. If this come not time enough then pray write back to Newmarket. Oh deare Ld. Thomond hath won the great Race, I betted 2 guineas for you & as a frollic to C. Castle, we have won.

Charles II. 1668. October.

"Thy Armourer brings for you, and himself, two gunnyes wch was improved on Thump's victory; won but a yard and soe straight the entire six miles; The King [is] highly pleased with all his Newmarket Recreations, by candle light yesterday morning, and this morning hunting ye hare; this afternoon he hawks, and courses with greyhounds; To Norwich to-morrow, on Monday here againe. The Cup ridd for here next week before ye Queene. As thou prizes Earthly Paradises, bringe a Mayde of honour behind thee next week." *

This quaint epistle gives a very meagre account of what, in all probability, turned out an interesting October meeting. We must put up with the information imparted, and congratulate Sir Nicholas on his modest winnings; Thumps on his victory; Newmarket on its

* State Papers, Dom., Charles II., Bundle 253, No. 25. It seems the Maids of Honour travelled to Newmarket, at this time, *a la* pillion.

royal and distinguished patrons, regretting our inability to discover anything concerning the competitors for the Cup, which, although one of the most important races, is nevertheless one about which the least is known. The expenses of the king and queen in their journeys from Whitehall to Audley End and Newmarket, in the months of September and November, 1668, is returned in the accounts of the Cofferer of Wardrobe, at £1485 4s. 9½d.*

In the absence of further information of the races we may be pardoned for going out of our way in a cruise on board the Henrietta yacht † in company with the king and the Duke of York. Harwich and Aldborough were visited, where forts were designed by the king, "with a leaden pencil and a ruler," in emulation of his great contemporary Vauban, to the supposed terror of the Dutch. When these national defences were planned, the king returned to Audley End to find some of his horses stolen during his absence; the projected second October royal visit to Newmarket was apparently abandoned in consequence: Ormond,[180] Buckingham, and other officers of state "who remained behind at Newmarket" having been summoned to attend the king at Audley End, in Essex, prior to his return to London.‡

* Series i., box E, rot. *s. d.* MS., P.R.O.

† "Charles II. took as much interest in his navy as he was capable of taking in anything apart from his sensual pleasures, and this circumstance inspired the sailors with a zeal which there was little else in the nature of their treatment to create. Yachting then became a fashion; with characteristic frivolity Charles even had a vessel moored opposite to Whitehall, in which he might fancy himself at sea. This childish hobby was appropriately named The Folly, and formed one among the many lounging places of the Court."—Warburton, 3, 470.

‡ State Papers, Dom., Charles II., No. 143, 193.

[179] He was one of the King's Equerries at this time. The Duke of York calls him "a truly honest man, very stout" (*i.e.* loyal). He was subsequent to this date Governor of Kinsale. He died at Dublin, February, 1686.—Clarendon to Rochester, Dab. Castle, February 27, 1685–6. Macpherson, Papers, vol. i., p. 47.

[180] James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormonde, K.G., and 12th Earl of Ormonde, was born October 19, 1610, installed a Knight of the Garter, and created in 1642, Marquis of Ormonde. The following year he was appointed Lord-lieutenant, of Ireland. At the Restoration his fidelity and eminent service to the royal cause were requited. In 1660 he had conferred on him the title of Baron Butler of Llanthony, and Earl of Brecknock, in the peerage of England, and in the following year that of Duke of Ormonde in Ireland. In 1661 he resumed the duties of Lord-lieutenant, which he performed until 1669. Finally, in 1682, he was created an English duke as DUKE OF ORMONDE. He was a notable patron of the Turf, and breeder of thoroughbred stock, and a frequent visitor to Newmarket, where a branch of the Butler family held, for some generations, a manorial estate. His grace married, in 1629, his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Preston, only daughter of Richard, Earl of Desmond, and had four sons and two daughters. The duke, known in history as "The great Duke of Ormonde," died July 21, 1688, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The royal journey back to London was enlivened by the following scenes, as we learn from Pepys :—

"Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets ; and at last fighting, and been beat by the watch and clapped up all night ; and how the king takes their parts ; and my Lord

Chief Justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels to answer it next Sessions; which is a horrid shame. How the King and these gentlemen did make the fiddles of Thetford in this last progress to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of. . . . That the King was drunk at Saxham with Sedley, Buckhurst, etc., the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or could not; which is true, for it was the night that I was there, and saw the King go up to his chamber, and was told that the King had been drinking. He tells me, too, that the Duke of York did the next day chide Bab. May for his occasioning the King's giving himself up to these gentlemen, to the neglect of my Lord Arlington; to which he answered merrily, that there was no man in England that had a head to lose, durst do what they do, every day, with the King, and asked the Duke's pardon, which is a sign of a mad world, God bless us out of it."

"Whitehall, September (Qy. 30)—This morning His Majesty, accompanied by His Royal Highness, and attended by several persons of the most considerable quality about the Court, departed hence for *Newmarket*, where he intends for some days to divert himself, and afterwards to go to *Audley end*, where he may continue for some weeks."—The "London Gazette," Sept. 29—Oct. 1. No. 300.

Newmarket. 1668. September.

"Whitehall, October 6. This morning Her Majesty attended by several Ladies of the Court, went hence for *Audly-end*, where his Majesty was suddenly likewise expected, having diverted himself for some time at Newmarket." *—*Ibid.*, No. 301.

Lord Arlington to Sir Wm. Temple:—"His Majesty goes to Morrow at break of day, but I shall not set out till *Friday* Morning, and the Queen not till to morrow Sev'night."—Letters, vol. i., p. 355.

"Sept. 30. His Majesty accompanied with his Royal Highness, etc., went for *New Market*."

* The King and H.R.H. arrived there again on Nov. 1, and returned to White hall on the 3rd of that month.

"Oct. 3. At *Ipswich* on His way to *Harwich*.
5. Returned to *Ipswich*, and the same day to *New Market*.
17. And this day His Majesty to *Whitehal*.
31. His Majesty again to *Newmarket*.
Nov. 3. Returned to White-*hal*."
—"England's Remembrancer," Lond., 1676., p. 98.

It may be incidentally mentioned that among the gifts of Charles II. to the Duchess of Cleveland, was Bluff King Hal's Palace of Non-such, who pulled it down and sold the materials to the Earl of Berkeley [181] with which he erected "a new house, a-la-modern," the well-known Durdans on Epsom Downs. Another version of this transaction is to the effect that during this meeting at Newmarket the duchess won the palace of the king on Thump's victory in the six mile race. This, however, is improbable, as Charles II. rarely made a bet, and he disliked gaming in all its phases. The Durdans has many curious associations, since it was held by the Earl of Guildford, and was "infamous for the scene of love between Lord Grey and his lady's sister:" * a landmark in the progress of the turf, and now the property of Lord Rosebery. †

October. 1668.

[181] George, 9th BARON BERKELEY—only son and heir of George, 8th Baron Berkeley, K.B., and Elizabeth, second daughter and co-heir of Sir Michael Stanhope, of Sudborn, county Suffolk—succeeded his father, August 10, 1658; and was created, September 11, 1679, Viscount Dursley and Earl of Berkeley. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Massingbred, Esq., Treasurer of the East India Company, and died October 14, 1698.

* "Mag. Brit.," Edt. Savoy, 1720, vol. v., p. 370.

† "On Saturday last, August 14, 1669, his Majesty with H.R.H. the Duke of Monmouth, were entertained by my Lord George Berkley, of Berkley, at his house at Durdons, where his Majesty was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on Dr. Scarborough, in consideration of his former sufferings and present services." —"London Gazette," No. 399.

The following patent, appointing Thomas Elliot * custodian of the royal palace at Newmarket, at a salary of £300 a year, was issued at this date :—

Charles II. 1668. Newmarket. The Palace.

"Our Will & Pleasure is That you forthwith pay or cause to be payd to Our Trusty and Wellbeloued Servant Thomas Elliotte Esqr whom Wee haue appointed to be Our House-Keeper of ye House Wee bought at Newmarket ye sume of three hundred pounds in consideration of his paines & charges in keeping of ye s^d House, in ayreing of ye Roomes, & Household stuffe & in other Services there from y^e at wch time Wee bought ye s^d House untill Michaellmas last ye some to be taken w^thout acc^t For which this shall be ye Warrant. Given at Our Court at Whitehall ye day of November in ye 20th yeare of Our Reigne

"By his Maties Command."

"To ye Lords Comm^rs
of Our Treasury."

—State Papers, Dom. *1668*, Nov., bundle *256*, No. 114; *Ibid.*, bundle 253, No. 195.

To Peter Walton, Ric^d Woodgate, Richd Collins, Gentlemen Harbingers, Thomas Brereton, Wm Cotton, Thomas Wetherell, Thomas Samborne, Jacob Withers & Henry Cooper Yeomen Harbingers, & to Nathanill Cotton, & Lancelot Griffith their Assistants for their Attendance on the King & Queene at Newmarkett, Audley End & else where, from the xxj^th of September to the xx^th of October *1668* being xxx^ty days at ix^s ℔ diem to each Gentleman Harbinger and v^s a piece ℔ diem to each yeoman and his Assistants by warr^t dated the xxiiij^th of March *1668* [-69] . . . C^li x^s.—A.O.R.D.C.T.C. B. 398. R. 95.

1668. October. September.

To William Cotton and Thomas Brereton for their shares of ix^li x^s allowed to Nicholas Woodgate and others, at the same rates, for their attendance on his Matie x^n days at Newmarket in October and November *1668* . . . v^li. (Rot. 119.)

* He was appointed one of the grooms of the bed-chamber by patent, dated November 20, 1661, with a salary of £500 a year, during pleasure, payable quarterly out of the Exchequer.

Order in Council.

Charles II. 1668. Horses.

Total of the king's revenue, £1,030,000.
Household, £90,000.
Privy Purse, £12,000.
Master of the horse "for horses," £2000.
Stud horses, £500.
(This was exclusive of the Queen's, who was allowed a dower of £23,000.)
Army and garrisons, £182,000.

—Harl. 8636, fo. 69, 70.

Stables £10,000.—*Ib.*, 73*d*. 1675–1676.

We have discovered no trace of the Newmarket first spring meeting of 1669, beyond the formal announcement that the king, accompanied by the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and their suites, went down on the 8th of March, and returned to London on the 12th of that month.* The expenses attending the king's journey from Whitehall to Newmarket and Audley End in March, 166⅝, was £412 17*s*. 0½*d*.†

1669. Newmarket. March.

"I hear that to-morrow the king and Duke of York set out for Newmarket by three in the morning, to some foot and horse-races; to be abroad ten or twelve days."—"Pepys' Diary," March 7, 1669. . . . "March 8. To White Hall, from whence the king and the Duke of York went by three in the morning, and had the misfortune to be overset with the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Prince

* "March 8. His Majesty and Royal Highness, etc., went to Newmarket. 12th. Returned to Whitehall."—"England's Remembrancer" (London, 1676), p. 99.

† Accounts of the Cofferer of the Wardrobe, series i., box E, Rot. *s.d.* MS., P.R.O.

[Rupert], at the king's Gate in Holborne;* and the king all dirty, but no hurt. How it came to pass I know not, but only it was dark, and the torches did not, they say, light the coach as they should do."—*Ibid.*

The second spring meeting at Newmarket was also attended by the king and court.

Charles II. 1669. March—April.

"The king and court went out of town to Newmarket this morning betimes, for a week." —"Pepys' Diary," April 27, 1669.

The king, writing from Whitehall, March 22, 1669, to his sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans at Paris, says: "I came from Newmarket the day before yesterday, where we had as fine weather as we could wish, which added much both to the horse matches as well as to hunting. L'Abbé Pregnani[182] was there most part of the time, and I believe will give you some account of it; but not that he lost his money upon confidence that the stars could tell which horse could win, for he had the ill luck to foretell three times wrong together, and James† believed him so much as he lost his money upon the same score. I had not my cypher at Newmarket when I received yours of the 16th, so as I could say nothing to you in answer to it till now," etc.‡

[182] This celebrated astrologer was sent over to England by Louis XIV., at the request of Charles II., to facilitate

* Kingsgate Street stands to the south-east of Bloomsbury Square. In the reign of James I. it was a mere country lane, with a barred gate at its entrance, which, from that monarch's usually passing through it on his way to Newmarket and Theobalds, received the denomination of King's Gate. The "lane" is now called Theobald's Road.

† The Duke of York, afterwards King James II.

‡ Sir John Dalrymple's "Memoirs," vol. i., App. p. 22.

the secret negotiations relating to the Triple Alliance. The object of his mission was twofold; first, to impress upon the credulous people of England, by means of his professed astrological predictions, the idea that their national prosperity and glory were bound up by the fates in a union with France; secondly, he was to serve as a convenient and unsuspected vehicle of correspondence between Charles and his sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, that they might carry on their negotiations as they pleased, without the interference of the Duke of Buckingham. But curiously enough, it so happened, that the chief attendant upon the Queen-mother of England, then at Colombes, was Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond, Buckingham's sister. This lady, finding means to discover much of what passed in the long conferences held between Henrietta and her mother, communicated it to Buckingham, and thus made him aware that, whilst he thought himself a principal in the transaction, he was really but a tool in the hands of the Duchess of Orleans. Buckingham was at first extremely angry to find himself duped, and declared that he wished he had never admitted Henrietta into the negotiation at all, protesting that he could have carried it on without her, if he had chosen. However, as it began to assume a more tangible and definite form, others were cautiously, and by degrees, let into the secret, among whom were Lady Castlemaine, at this time the king's favourite mistress, who was propitiated by handsome presents from France, and the Earl of Arlington, who, seeing his master committed to the affair and content upon it, was too prudent now to oppose it. During this meeting at Newmarket the Earl of St. Albans, the Earl of Arundel,[183] and Lord Clifford,[184] were first admitted into the cabal,* and trusted with more or less

Charles II. 1669. Abbe Pregnani.

* So called from the initials of members composing the cabinet in which, according to the practice introduced by Lord Clarendon, every measure was debated and determined before it was submitted, for the sake of form, to the consideration of the Council. The Cabal ministers were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley-Cooker (created Baron Ashley and subsequently Earl of Shaftesbury), and Lauderdale.

of the secret the entire developments of which were still only known to Louis XIV., Charles II., and the Duchess of Orleans.*

[183] Richard Arundel, Esq., eldest son of John Arundel, Esq., of Trerice, M.P. for Cornwall *temp.* Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I., and Mary, daughter of George Cary, Esq., of Clovelly, Devon. Richard Arundel sat in the two last Parliaments of Charles I., for Lostwithiel, and in his military capacity served on the staff of the martyred monarch. This gallant officer had a command in the battle of Kineton, in the county of Warwick, where he displayed the hereditary valour of his family, and he was subsequently actively engaged during the whole of the civil wars, in which disastrous contest he was despoiled of the entire of his landed property. On the re-establishment of the monarchy, however, that was restored to him, and, in consequence of the devotedness of his father, his brothers, and himself, to the royal cause, he was elevated to the peerage by letters patent, dated March 23, 1664, as BARON ARUNDEL of Trerice, county Cornwall. He married Gertrude, daughter of Sir James Bagge, Knight, of Saltram, county Devon, and died in 1688.

[184] Sir Thomas Clifford—eldest son of Hugh Clifford, Esq., of Ugbroke Park, county Devon, and Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart.—was born on August 1, 1630, and after filling several of the highest official appointments, was elevated to the peerage by the title of BARON CLIFFORD of Chudleigh, April 22, 1672. The influence which Lord Clifford, by his industry and eloquence, had acquired in the House of Commons, had originally recommended him to the notice of the ministers of the crown, and under the patronage of Lord Arlington, he had rapidly advanced in preferment. When the Cabal Government was formed, he held the offices of Privy Councillor, Treasurer of the Household, and Commissioner of the Treasury. He was brave, generous, and ambitious; constant in his friendships, and

* "Lives of the Princesses of England," by Mrs. Wood, vol. vi. p. 524.

open in his resentments; a minister with clean hands in a corrupt court, and endowed with a mind capable of forming, and a heart ready to execute, the boldest and most hazardous projects. The king soon learned to prefer his services before those of his more cautious patron. Lord Clifford married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of William Martin, Esq., of Lundridge, by whom he had a large family, and, dying in 1673, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, George, 2nd Baron Clifford.

Charles II. 1669. Newmarket. April–May.

"*London, May* 1. On Monday last [April 26, 1669] His Majesty accompanied by his Royal Highness and his Highness Prince *Rupert*, attended by several of his Nobility and Persons of the Court, went hence to *New-Market*, to divert himself in the country thereabouts, and this Morning returned again hither. His Highness the Prince of *Tuscany*, having also taken part in those diversions, is gone to take a view of the University of *Cambridge*, desiring to be treated there as in other parts *incognito*, and to wave those publick Honours with which the said University intended to have received him."—"The London Gazette," $\frac{\text{April 29}}{\text{May 3}}$ 1669, No. 361.

"His Majesty goes to *Newmarket* to spend 15 days there if His liking of the Sport there lasts so long. I shall follow him six days after, and endeavour to return before him."—Lord Arlington's Letters to Sir William Temple, vol. i., p. 397.

The expenses attending the journey of the King from Whitehall to Newmarket in the months of April and May, 1669, was £273 4*s.* 10¾*d.**

To Roger Whitley Esqr His Ma^ts Knight Harbinger by virtue of a Warr^t from the Lord Chamberlaine of his Ma^ts Household for his and his two Assistants Attendance on His Majesty at New-Markett by the space of xxvij^n dayes, viz from the xxiiij^th of February to the xxij^th of March 1668[–69] at the rate of x^s & v^s per diem each, by virtue of a warr^t

* Cofferers Accs., rot. *s. d.*, MS., P.R.O.

dated ye xxj^th of Aprill 1669 . . . xxvij^li—A.O.R.D.C.T.C., Bundle 398, Rot. 95.

To Roger Harsnett & James Becke for their Attendance on His Matie at New Markett in March 1668[69] xx^tie dayes at x^s ℔ diem to each of them by warrant etc. (*Ibid.*)

To Doctor Thomas Waldron for his Attendance on His Maties Household at Newmarkett in the month of March 166$\frac{8}{9}$ vij^en dayes by warr^t etc. (*Ibid.*)

To Thomas Wetherall, Nathaniel Cotton, and Wm Cotton for their shares of xx^li allowed to them, and Thos Samborne, at the usual rates, by warrant &c., for their attendance on his Matie at Newmarket xx^tie dayes in March 166$\frac{8}{9}$ . . . xv^li. (Rot. 119.)

To the same for their shares of xvij^li viij^s allowed to Peter Watson, Gentleman Harbinger, at the usual rates, for their attendance on his Ma^ty at Newmarket in April and May 1669 . . . ix^li. (*Ibid.*)

Thomas Elliot received £200, without account, in payment of his salary for keeping "the King's house lately bought at Newmarket." The money came out of the loan of £14,000 which the king had recently obtained from Alderman Backwell :—

Thoñ Elliott, Ar. CC^li absq' compō su℔ allocacoñ CC^li ℔ Ann ℔ labore et onibs custodiend' Domus Dñi Re' im℔ empt' apund Newmarkett et in oderand Camerar et supellesit et al servic ib'm pro vno Anno finit at fest Annunc B'te M'te Marie Virgis 1669, out of the 14,000^li loane, ℔ Backwell, Per tras de Privat Sigill dat xxv^to die Maij 1669 . . . CC^li—Pells Exitus. Mich. 21–22, Charles II. vol. iii., p. 250, MS., P.R.O.

Charles II. 1669. Newmarket. April—May.

The following description of Newmarket second spring meeting is taken from a translation of "The Travels of Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, in 1669." * It seems that this *réunion* at head-quarters was

* London : Printed for J. Mawman, Ludgate Street, 1821. The trans-

specially got up by Charles II. in honour of the Grand Duke's visit.

"Everything that was necessary for his [the Grand Duke] journey to Newmarket, being arranged, and having heard mass betimes in the morning of the 6th [of May, 1669, new style], his highness got into his carriage, with Colonel Gascoyne and his attendants, followed by other carriages for the convenience of his suite; and left London for Newmarket, towards which the king set out, the same morning, with the Duke of York, for the sole purpose of shewing his highness the horse races; an amusement taken by the court several times in the year, great numbers of ladies and gentlemen crowding thither from London and from their country-houses in the neighbourhood. On quitting London they found many villages and a numerous population; the country afterwards rises into a level plain, the greater part of which is devoted more to cow pastures, than to cultivation. On the way to Epping is an open place, belonging to the bishopric of London, to which it was given, with other domains, by King William I.

"Continuing his journey, after dinner, through a country not very unlike that which he had before travelled over, his highness reached Bishop's Stortford, to supper, a small town in the county of Hertford, situated on the river Stort, which, falling into the Lea which washes the town of Hertford, whence the province takes its name, increases it with its tributary

lator (qy. Count Lorenso Magalotti) in the Memoir of the Grand Duke prefixed to the Travels, tells us that the original manuscript, which fills two immense folio volumes, is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was born on the 14th of August, 1642. He married the Princess Margaret Louisa, eldest daughter of Louis XIV., on the 18th of April, 1661. The alliance proved a most unhappy one to H.S.H., whose journey and sojourn in England was induced in order to avoid his spouse. However, we are indebted to the duke's remembrancer for the best description of Newmarket extant at this date. The duke died on the 31st of October, 1723, when the house of Medici may be said to have become extinct. An account of the rural sports of Tuscany, during the early part of his reign, will be found in the "Life of the Hon. Sir Dudley North."

waters. This place, as well as Epping, belongs to the bishopric of London, to which it was given by the same prince. They stopped at the principal inn in the place, and found there everything necessary for the accommodation of the court; it being abundantly provided, as indeed are all the other inns in England, with everything that can be wanted; the more so, as the landlady boasts of her relationship by blood to the Protector Cromwell. His highness retired, and supped as usual.

"On the 7th, having heard mass privately, his highness set off, and pursued his journey on horseback, through all that tract of country which lies betwixt Bishop's Stortford and Audley End, the celebrated seat of my Lord James Howard, Earl of Suffolk. The road, for the most part, was an uneven plain, which near the villa rises into a gentle eminence, whence is discovered the palace of Audley End, situated at no great distance from the castle of Ansgar, in the bosom of a beautiful valley, watered by several rivulets; these uniting, form a lake abounding with trout, over which is a bridge of stone." . . .

The writer there gives a long description of Audley End, and three illustrations of that palatial seat. Resuming his narrative he says—"Having passed the borders and reached the territory of Cambridge, the country was not very different in point of fertility, from that which we had already passed over; but not so as to the salubrity of the air, which is less healthy on account of the fens; these, exhaling perpetual vapours, render the atmosphere dense, and extremely unwholesome. His highness, before evening, reached Newmarket (where, at an inn called the Maidens, almost opposite to the king's house, quarters had been prepared by his highness's courier) at the precise time that his majesty, with the duke and Prince Rupert, had arrived the preceding day. They had returned from seeing the city of Ely, which is situated not far off, in a tract of land the most marshy of any in the country, called by the peasants the Isle of Ely. . . .

"As soon as his highness alighted from his carriage, he went to the king's house, which compared with other seats of the English nobility, does not deserve the name of a royal

residence ; and on this account his majesty has taken measures to enlarge it with several new apartments, and to improve the prospect from it. He made his obeisance to his majesty, who received him with an unusual degree of kindness, congratulating him on his safe arrival. From the king's apartments, his highness went to those of the Duke of York, to pay his respects to his royal highness ; and after reciprocal compliments, returned to his lodgings, supping alone as usual.

"The house which the king at present inhabits, at Newmarket, has been purchased by his majesty of my Lord O'Brien, an Irishman, Earl of Thomond, a descendant of the ancient Earl of Thomond, of whose family was Donald III., King of Ireland.

"On the morning of the 8th, his highness impatiently endeavoured to get himself exempted from attending the usual religious services, that he might be in good time at the king's house, but found that his majesty had already left Newmarket on foot, to take exercise. On receiving this information, his highness set out in the same manner, with Colonel Gascoyne, Sir — Castiglioni,[185] and his attendants, in that direction which he heard the king had walked. He had not gone many paces, before he met his majesty, who returned home, in a plain and simple country dress, without any finery, but wearing the badges of the order of St. George and of the Garter. His highness presented himself to his majesty, and having exchanged compliments, accompanied him to his residence, where they remained in conversation till the horses were ready, on which they were to ride out again into the country, to take the diversion of coursing hares, in those open and naked plains. Having spent the remainder of the morning in this amusement, they returned at midday, each betaking himself to his quarters ; and his highness dined with the gentlemen of his suite. After dinner the king with the duke and Prince Rupert went on horseback, to a place a little from Newmarket, and amused themselves with a game of tennis, and his highness went out in his carriage in pursuit of the birds called dotterel,* which in size and shape resemble a very

* The dotterel was reckoned a very foolish bird, and was believed to

large lark; they are, for the most part, of a colour inclining in brown upon the back, and under the belly nearly white. Towards the evening, on going back to Newmarket, his highness paid his compliments to the king and the duke, and returning home, supped alone, at an early hour.

"The following day, the 9th, the sky appeared lowring and cloudy, and threatened rain which would prevent the horse-races that were to take place on that day; but at sunrise, the clouds partly dispersed, and the king went into the country, and his highness along with him, to renew the diversion of hare hunting; the great pleasure of which in this plain country, is, that being entirely free from trees it leaves to the huntsman the full enjoyment of seeing the animals without interruption, and observing their subtle flight, and frequent deceptions in turning and doubling round and round, passing frequently by the same place, and retracing their steps. After enjoying this recreation, his highness returned at mid-day, and before going to his own quarters, went to those of the king, and the tables being prepared beforehand, there dined with my Lord James, Duke of Ormond, steward of his majesty's household; my Lord George, Duke of

mimic the action of the fowler, by stretching out a wing when the other extended his arm, continuing his imitation, regardless of the net that was spreading for him. To follow this sport of catching them, Willoughby states, six or seven persons go in company; when they have found the birds, they set their net in an advantageous place, and each of them holding a stone in either hand, get behind the birds, and striking the stones often one against another, rouse them from their natural sluggishness, and by degrees drive them into the net—a process which has been long disused.

In the Comedy, "The Old Couple," by Thomas May (London, 1658, 4to), Barnet says to Euphues—"He is just caught as Dotterels used to be: the lady first advanc'd towards him, stretch'd forth her wing, and he met her with all expressions; and is caught as fast in her lime-twigs, as he can be, until the church confirm it."—See earlier references to the matter in Ben Jonson's "Devil is an Ass," and Beaumont and Fletcher's "Sea Voyage."

When Sir Nicholas Bacon entertained Queen Elizabeth at Gorhamby House, Hertfordshire, in May, 1577, among the viands provided for the royal banquet, fourteen dotterels were purchased at a cost of 9*s.* 4*d.* These birds probably came from Newmarket.

Buckingham, master of the horse; my Lord Edward, Earl of Manchester, chamberlain; my Lord O'Brien, Earl of Thomond; my Lord Germain; the Marquis of Blandford;[186] Bernard Howard of Norfolk; my Lord William Croftes;[187] my Lord Francis Newport, Baron Newport;[188] Sir — Elliot;* and the gentlemen belonging to his highness's retinue.

"At three o'clock, according to the English mode of reckoning, the king and the Duke of York went from Newmarket to see the horse-races, and repaired to the place appointed to this sport, going to a certain spot which is nearly in the middle of the course, and there his majesty stopped and amused himself with seeing my Lord Blandford and my Lord Germain play at bowls.

"The race-course is a tract of ground in the neighbourhood of Newmarket, which, extending to the distance of four miles over a spacious and level meadow, covered with very short grass, is marked out by tall wooden posts, painted white. These point out the road that leads directly to the goal, to which they are continued the whole way; they are placed at regular distances from one another, and the last is distinguished by a flag mounted upon it, to designate the termination of the course. The horses intended for this exercise, in order to render them more swift, are kept always girt, that their bellies may not drop, and thereby interfere with the agility of their movements; and when the time of the races draws near, they feed them with the greatest care, and very sparingly, giving them, for the most part, in order to keep them in full vigour, beverages composed of soaked bread and fresh eggs. Two horses only started on this occasion, one belonging to Bernard Howard, of Norfolk, and the other to Sir — Elliot. They left Newmarket saddled in a very simple and light manner after the English fashion, led by the hand, and at a slow pace, by the men who were to ride them, dressed in taffeta of different colours, that of Howard being white, and that of Elliot green. When they reached the place where they were to start, they mounted, and loosening

* Probably Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stobs, who was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, Dec. 3, 1666.

the reins, let the horses go, keeping them in at the beginning, that they might not be too eager at first setting off, and their strength fail them in consequence, at the more important part of the race; and the farther they advanced in the course, the more they urged them, forcing them to continue it at full speed. When they came to the station where the king and the Duke of York, with some lords and gentlemen of his majesty's court were waiting on horseback till they should pass, the latter set off after them at the utmost speed, which was scarcely inferior to that of the race-horses; for the English horses being accustomed to run, can keep up with the racers without difficulty; and they are frequently trained for this purpose in another race-ground, out of London,* situated on a hill which swells from the plain with so gradual and gentle a rise that at a distance it cannot be distinguished from a plain; and there is always a numerous concourse of carriages there to see the races, upon which considerable bets are made.

"Meanwhile his highness, with his attendants and others of his court, stopping on horseback at a little distance from the goal, rode along the meadows waiting the arrival of the horses, and of his majesty, who came up close after them with a numerous train of gentlemen and ladies, who stood so thick on horseback, and galloped so freely, that they were no way inferior to those who had been for years accustomed to the *manège*. As the king passed, his highness bowed, and immediately turned and followed his majesty to the goal, where trumpets and drums which were in readiness for that purpose, sounded in applause of the conqueror, which was the horse of Sir — Elliot. From the race-ground his majesty, being very much heated, adjourned to his house, accompanied by his highness, and by the greater part of the gentlemen who had come to see the race; and having paid his compliments, his highness departed, retiring to his own lodgings, that he might leave his majesty at liberty, who, having rested

* This reads obscure, and may be a misprint for "the town." Probably the Warren Hill is the locality referred to.

a little, went out again on foot, and took a walk through Newmarket, and to a short distance out of the town. His highness did the same, and appeared again at court in the evening."

On the morning of the 10th his Serene Highness paid a visit to Sir John Russel, at Chippenham, returning to Newmarket at noon. "Before entering the town he alighted from his carriage, and went on foot with his attendants to the king's residence, where he was introduced into his majesty's chamber, who was waiting there till everything necessary was prepared for the ceremony, which he is accustomed to perform publicly every Friday, that of touching for the king's evil, according to the ancient usage of the first Catholic kings of England, which was handed down to their successors, continued after the apostacy, and preserved to the time of the present king. When his majesty was informed that all was ready, he went from his chamber into a room adjoining, where was placed on a table a cushion, on which lay the prayer-book, appointed by the Anglican ritual, for the use of his majesty. As soon as he appeared, at a signal given by him, the two assistant ministers, dressed in their surplices, began the prayers with a great appearance of devotion; his highness standing, while they were read, in another room, from which, when the service was finished, he passed into the room in which those who were afflicted with the King's Evil, were assembled, for the purpose of observing the ceremony, from the side of the door which led into the room. A carpet was spread upon the floor, and upon it was a seat, on which the king seated himself, and certain invocations in the English language, taken from the prayer-book, having been read by one of the ministers, his majesty began the ceremony of touching the patients in the part affected. These were conducted into the king's presence, one at a time, and as they knelt before him, he touched them with both his hands; after which, without interfering with the others who came after them, each returned to his former situation. This being over, the minister, kneeling with all the bystanders, the king alone remaining seated, repeated some other prayers; after which,

all rising, the diseased came again in the same order as before to his majesty, who put round their necks a ribbon of an azure colour, from which was suspended a medallion of gold, stamped with his own image, in shape and weight resembling an Hungarian sequin. The whole ceremony being ended, the king returned to his chamber, and his highness to his quarters, and dined as usual.

"A new horse-race being arranged for to-day, his highness, determined to go in his carriage, with his attendants, to the place of starting; and there having mounted his horse, he followed with his attendants, at a half gallop, the two race-horses, which were rode by two men drest in taffeta, the one red and the other white, almost as far as the Devil's Ditch, a rampart which was formerly thrown up for the defence of the country, against hostile invasions, but being now cut through, leaves the road free and open; having there met the king, who was also on horseback, he bowed to him, and his majesty taking off his hat, returned the salute with peculiar courtesy; and having conversed a short time with his highness, continued his way, his highness remaining there in expectation of two other horses, which were already on their way to the starting place, and behind which the king came up in a canter, with the Duke of York and other lords and gentlemen, who had come both for the sake of following the court, and for the sake of seeing the race, as well as on account of the bets; and when they came opposite the post, at which his highness remained on horseback, the latter again saluted his majesty as he passed, following him along with his retinue to the goal, whence, on account of being very much heated, wrapping himself up his cloak, without delay went back to Newmarket, to his residence; and his highness did the same, to pass the remainder of the day. The king afterwards went out on foot, without extending his walk far from the village; and his highness, that he might anticipate his majesty's return home, went a proper time in the same direction, and accidentally met Prince Rupert; and whilst they were engaged in conversation, his majesty returned, and was accompanied to his residence by his highness, who

there took leave of him with every expression of acknowledgment for the goodness which his majesty had shewn, over and above the other tokens of his regard, in going from London to Newmarket on purpose to afford him the amusement of the races. To this his majesty replied, that the moderation with which his highness desired to be treated on his journeys, and the *incog.* which he determined never to dispense with, had obliged his majesty to abstain from those public demonstrations which were due to his highness's merits, and that he forbore only in conformity with his express wishes, as otherwise he should have obeyed the impulse of his own inclination, which prompted him to manifest, by every possible form and observance, his pleasure at his highness's visit to the English court; and after many interchanges of politeness, the prince wished his majesty a good journey, as the latter, on the next day, the 11th (which being the 1st of May according to the old style, is still retained in England, and celebrated as a holiday in Hyde Park, with great festivities, and a vast concourse of people), had resolved to return to London, and his highness to go to Cambridge, to see that famous University, which was anxiously expecting him, in consequence of the hopes given by the two doctors, who had been expressly sent to Newmarket to invite him. His highness then paid his compliments to the Duke of York, who replied to them with equal sincerity, and afterwards returned home, and supped alone.

"Newmarket, an open town of about two hundred houses, in the county of Cambridge (although some believe it to be in that of Suffolk) is situated on the declivity of some gently rising hills, which inclose a small valley and constitute a distinguishing feature in the almost level territory which lies in every direction around it. It has, in the present day, been brought into repute by the king, who frequents it on account of the horse-races, having been before celebrated for the market for victuals, which was held there, and was a very abundant one. In consequence of the example set by the king, the buildings are beginning to improve in appearance, and to increase in numbers, to render it more commodious for

the purposes of the court, and more capable of containing the persons who resort thither at the time the king is there. The territory belongs to my Lord Henry Bennet, Baron Arlington,* who lets it on twenty-one years' lease, at six shillings the acre, the rent to be paid half-yearly, and the tenant being left at full liberty, either to employ the land for pasture, or plough it up, or to sub-let it.

"At four o'clock in the morning of the 11th, according to the English mode of reckoning, the king, with the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the other attendants of his court, departed from Newmarket for London, in very windy and boisterous weather; and his highness having heard mass, gave audience to my Lords Blandford, Thomond, Bernard Howard, and others, who had come to pay their respects to him; and at seven set off in his carriage, with all his suite, for Cambridge, which is eleven miles from Newmarket, where his highness on his arrival went to the Rose Inn."

[185] "Sir — Castiglioni" is obviously either a mistake of the translator or a misprint, as the person referred to was, probably, Francesco Castiglione, son of Jean Benedict Castiglione, called Grechetto, the eminent artist. Francis was the disciple of his father, and was born in Genoa. He inherited in a very considerable degree the talents of his sire, and imitated his style and manner exactly in composition, handling, and design. As he was a distinguished animal painter it may account for his presence at Newmarket during the Grand Duke's visit there in May, 1669.

[186] "The Marquis of Blandford." As there was no such title known in England before the reign of Queen Anne, the person referred to was Louis de Duras, Marquis of Blanquefort, who (with George Hamilton) obtained from Charles II., February 25, 1666–7, a grant for the sole licensing of all sorts of lotteries in the kingdom of England and Ireland and the Plantations for seven years. On the 29th of June in that year "the Marquis" was commissioned "Captain

* Alington. The writer evidently confused one title for the other.

and Colonel of the Duke of York's troop of Guards." Louis de Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort, and brother to the Duc de Duras, in France, was naturalized by Act of Parliament, 17 Charles II. He was subsequently elevated to the peerage by letters patent dated January 19, 1673, in the dignity of Baron Duras of Holdenby. He married Mary, elder daughter and co-heiress of Sir George Sondes, of Lees Court, county Kent, K.B., which Sir George was elevated to the peerage as Baron Throwley, Viscount Sondes, and Earl of Feversham, with remainder in default of issue to his son-in-law, Lord Duras, by letters patent, dated April 8, 1676. In the following year the earl died—having been predeceased by his elder son George, who was murdered in his bed by his younger brother, Freeman, who suffered death for the atrocious crime of fratricide—and Lord Duras became Earl of Feversham. His lordship had a command at the battle of Sedgemoor, and was commander of the army of James II. (by whom he was made a Knight of the Garter), when the Prince of Orange invaded England and was elected king by Parliament *vice* Shamus Ahoca, skedaddled. Duras survived the Revolution, and died without heirs in 1709, when all his honours became extinct.

[187] "Lord William Crofts." WILLIAM CROFTS, Esq., lineal male heir of the family of Crofts, which had flourished for several ages at Saxham, county Suffolk, and descended by females from the 1st Lord Wentworth, of Nettlested, as also from the Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury, and Nevils, Earls of Westmoreland, was elevated to the peerage May 18, 1658, as Baron Croftes of Saxham, county Suffolk. His lordship having been brought up at court from his youth, became first Master of the Horse to James, Duke of York, next Captain of the Guards to the Queen-mother, and afterwards one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Charles II. He was also a sort of dry nurse to the Duke of Monmouth before the latter was acknowledged by the king as his son. Lord Crofts was subsequently employed as ambassador to Poland, and for his services on that occasion obtained the

peerage. He married, 1st, Dorothy, widow of Sir John Hele, Knight; and 2ndly, Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton; but having no legitimate issue, the Barony of Crofts became at his decease in 1677 extinct.

[188] Francis Newport, 2nd Baron Newport, of High Ercall, Shropshire, succeeded his father, the 1st Lord Newport, in 1650. This nobleman, in the time of his father, fought valiantly under the royal banner until 1644, when he was taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians. Upon the Restoration, he was constituted by Charles II. first Comptroller, and afterwards Treasurer of the Household, and was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Newport of Bradford, by letters patent, dated March 11, 1675. He married Lady Diana Russell, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford. After the Revolution he was created Earl of Bradford, by letters patent, dated May 11, 1694. He died in 1708.

Charles II. The King's Evil.

As the Duke of Tuscany's description of the ceremony of touching for the king's evil is somewhat inaccurate, we append the following facts relating to the subject.

One of the unspeakable blessings of the Restoration was the re-introduction into England of the sovereign cure for scrofula, or the king's evil. This pious farce (first instituted by Edward the Confessor) is thus described by Evelyn, who witnessed the ridiculous ceremony: "His Majesty sitting under the State [canopy] in the Banqueting House, the chirurgeons cause the sick to be brought or lead up to the throne, where, they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheeks with both his hands at once; at which instant a chaplin in his formalities says '*He put his hands upon them, and he healed them.*' This is said to every one in particular. When they have been all touched, they come up again in the same order; and the other chaplin, kneeling and having gold angels *

* An ancient gold coin struck in England, so called from the figure of an angel impressed upon it. It weighed 4 pennyweights, and was 23½

strung on white ribbon on his arm, delivers them one by one to his Majesty, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they pass, whilst the first chaplin repeats, '*This is the true Light who came into the world.*' Then follows an epistle (as at first gospel), with the liturgy prayers for the sick with some alteration, lastly the blessing; and the Lord Chamberlain and Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer, and towel, for his Majesty to wash."* From £1200 to £2000 a year was allowed, and probably given away, for this purpose. It was technically called "angel gold for healing," and "healing medals." †

The following notice relating to touching for the King's Evil appeared in the "London Gazette," Oct. $\frac{29}{23}$, 1684 (No. 1975):—

His Majesty's Chyrurgeons complaining that notwithstanding His Majesty's Order in Council of the 9th of *January* last past, there is in some Parishes great neglect in Registering and sealing the Certificates given to those that come to be Touched by His Majesty, for the Disease commonly call'd the *King Evil*. Wherefore the Ministers and others concerned, are required to be more careful for the future, and that they observe the following or the like form of Certificates.

We the Minister and Church-Wardens of the Parish of in the { City / County / Borough } of do hereby certify that of this Parish aged about years, is afflicted as we are credibly informed with the Disease commonly called the King's Evil; And (to the best of our knowledge) had not heretofore been Touched

carats fine. Its value in 1 Hen. VI. was 6*s.* 8*d.*, in 1 Hen. VIII. 7*s.* 6*d.*, in 34 Hen. VIII. 8*s.*, in Edw. IV. and Eliz. 10*s.*, and so on probably down to *temp.* Charles II. it was current for 10*s.* The half-angel was a moiety of this, and the quarter angel proportionable.

* Diary, *sub dato.*

† MS., Harleian, 6836, fo. 69*d*, fo. 73*d*.

by His Majesty for the said Disease. In Testimony whereof we set our Hands and Seals this day of 168

Churchwardens } { Parson / Vicar / Curate

Registered *per.*

It seems the king was again at Newmarket in October and November this year.

1669. Newmarket. October. November.

To David Powell and Thomas Bocock, Pages of the Presence to His Matie for their charges and Expences in their Attendance vpon his Matie to Newmarkett and Audley End in May 1669: xxj daies, at Portsmouth & Bagshott in June xj daies, at Newmarkett and Audley End the ij^d^ time xxiij^ee^ daies and the third time in Octobr and Novembr x^tie^ dayes, etc affter the rate of v^s^ ℔ diem to each of them by warr^ts^ etc. —A.O.R. (Rot. 95).

BOOK XII.

NEWMARKET IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. (*continued*). 1670–1675.

1670. The spring meeting—Attended by the King, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the chief ministers of state, the court officers, and a great concourse of the nobility and gentry—The races—Lord St. John's great winnings—His horse Tancred—Incidental expenses of the court during the meeting—Visit of the Heads and Doctors of Cambridge University—Their present to the King—The summer meeting—Visit of the King, Queen, and the royal family—The Corps Diplomatique—Enormous attendance—Description of the new palace—The town, stables, horses, and the heath—Scene on the training tracks—Anecdote of the King and Sir Christopher Wren—The autumn meeting—Arrival and sojourn of the royal family—Subsequent visit of the Prince of Orange (William III.)—The Queen and the ladies of her court entertained at the palace—They take up their quarters at Euston Hall—Entertained there by Lord Arlington—The races—The Queen present in her coach—Her departure for Audley End—Betting by "rich citizens"—Salubrity of the heath—Its beneficial effect on the ministers of state in attendance on the King—Current sporting affairs—Pedestrianism—Lord Digby's wager to walk five miles on the heath stark naked—Is attended by the King and court and loses by half a minute—Postal arrangements between London and Newmarket during the races—The G.P.O.—The mails—Stamps, coaching, and posting—Incidental expenses of the court officials—Allowances to the physicians and surgeons in ordinary—And other officers in attendance on the royal family—1671. The spring meeting—Attended by the King, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, etc.—The October meeting—Visit of King, Queen and other members of the royal family—The journey down—The races—Great match between the King's horse Woodcock and Mr. Elliot's Flatfoot—Enormous attendance—Scarcity of lodgings

—The Corps Diplomatique at Euston Hall—Arrival of Mdlle. Queroualle (Duchess of Portsmouth)—Amours—Fast life—Court gaieties—Scenes on the heath—Racing, hunting, hawking, theatricals, cocking, etc.—The Duke of Buckingham and the Countess of Shrewsbury—Affairs of state under difficulties—Passing events—The French ambassador's despatches to Louis XIV.—The journey up—The King's visit to Henry Cromwell—Partakes of his hospitality—Mock ceremonies—Royal progress in the Eastern counties—Incidental expenses attending the royal visit—1672. The October meeting—Attended by the King in semi-state—Hunting at Euston Hall—The races—Pedestrianism—The post—The King as a jockey—Current events—1673. Topographical description of Newmarket at this period—The town—The ditch—The market—The inns—The turfites—The whitework—And the women—The spring meeting—Brief visit of the King—Cost of the trip—1674. The spring meeting—Attended by the King, the Duke of York, etc., etc.—Heavy expenses at the palace during the royal sojourn—The October meeting—The King and court again present—Paucity of information concerning the races—Royal ukase to the clergy—Ordered to curtail their hair and perukes—And to deliver sermons extemporary—*Vid. Def.*—Anecdote of the King and Bishop Stillingfleet—Order by the Postmaster-General—Post-horses between London and Newmarket—Illness of Henry Cromwell—The King prescribes for him—And he dies—Stable regulations—The number, classification, and cost of fodder annually at the royal stud—Sundry allowances to the officials attending the court—1675. The spring meeting—Attended by the King, the Duke of York, the ministers of state, the court officials, and a large concourse of nobility and gentry—Affairs of state under difficulties—Salubrity of the heath—The races—Sir Robert Carr's victories—Great match between the Scotch horse and Diamond—Difficulties in clearing the course—Accidents during the races—The Scotch horse and the jockey upset—Great loss of bets in consequence—Inclement weather. Death of Mr. Wicklife, the jockey—Heavy betting—Great match between Lord Montague's Lusty and Mr. Frampton's Nutmeg for £900—Frampton compared to Turenne—The race—Lusty wins, and "we are all undone"—Comments on Frampton by his contemporaries—Life at Newmarket—Hunting, hawking, cocking, theatricals, cards, etc.—The Merry Monarch again as a jockey—Rides three heats and a course—Wins the plate and the heats—Account of the King's prowess as a jockey—Match between Blue Cap and Thumper for 1000 guineas—Expenses of the King during the spring meeting—The October meeting—Clashes with the meeting of parliament—And "those innocent sports" of Newmarket are neglected by the King and court—Works and buildings at the palace—Cost and description of the materials—The workmen employed and their wages—"The running horses' stables"—The ice well—Sir Christopher Wren and the officers of works.

THE Spring meeting at Newmarket in 1670 was honoured with the presence of the king,* and many of the notable turfites of the period, as appears by the subjoined contemporary references to it :— **Charles II. 1670. April. Newmarket.**

"Yesterday [April 13th, 1670] in the morning, His Majesty, accompanied by His Royal Highness, and attended by a considerable part of the Court, went hence to *Newmarket* to divert himself for some days with the Races, and other Recreations of those parts, whither he was this morning followed by his Highness Prince *Rupert*."—"The London Gazette," April $\frac{14}{18}$, 1670. No. 460.

"*London, April* 30. On Thursday last His Majesty and [his] Royal Highness returned hither from *Newmarket*. On Friday His Majesty was pleased to admit his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* into His Council, where he took the usual oath, and afterwards his place at the board according to custom."—*Ibid.* $\frac{\text{April } 28}{\text{May, } 2}$, 1670. No. 465.

"May. A great fair of Horses and Cattel for 5 daies at Newmarket." Feby. 1670.—"An almanack for the year of our Lord God 1670." London, 4°, 1670.

In the correspondence of the Right Rev. John Cosin,†

* The king's journey from Whitehall to Newmarket in April, 1670, cost £587 16*s.* 2*d.*—Acc. Cofferer, *s.d.*

† We learn from the Rev. George Ormsby, by whom this correspondence has been edited, that Bishop Cosin was born in Norwich, on St. Andrew's Day, 1595, and that he died "at his lodging in a street called Pell Mell, within the suburbs of Westminster," on January 15, 1671–2. The reverend editor observes that "matters of public interest are often mentioned by the Bishop when writing to the Secretary. Scraps of news occur also, sometimes about the proceedings of the Court or the Parliament, or the death of some great personage; sometimes about expected promotions, sometimes even the result of a horse race is detailed to his correspondent. Lord St. John of Basing, afterwards remarkable for his eccentric mode of life as Marquis of Winchester, who had property in the county Durham, and is occasionally mentioned, with reference to business matters, in the Bishop's letters, seems to have ventured large

D.D., Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham, it is written: "London, April 7th, 1670.—I believe the Parliament will be prorogued or adjourned upon Saturday next, for all the Bills are ready for the King to pass, who intends to goe towards Newmarket upon Monday next . . . Aprill 9th. This morning I was at the Parliament House, and found the King gone to Hampton Court, from whence he will returne this evening and finish all the Parliament Bills upon Monday or Tuesday morning at furthest, having put off his journey to Newmarket till the day following . . . Aprill 28th. The King returnes hither this day from Newmarket, where my Lord St. John won much money a weeke or a fortnight since, but whether hee lost it againe yesterday or no we shall know when the King and the Court come hither . . . P.S.—The King came hither this day at noone, driving from Newmarket hither in 8 houres, and my Lord St. John's Horse Tancred * is the victor againe."—The Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. lv.

To Wm Cotton, Thomas Witherell, Nath Cotton, & Thomas Brerton, yeomen Harbingers for their attendance on his Matie at Newmarket & Dover viz. to Wm Brereton xxv^e dayes end^d ye xxix^th of April 1670 at v^s ℔ diem vi^li v^s etc.—A.O.R. Rot. 95.

To Thomas Donekley his Ma^ts Chappell Closset keeper, by two Warr^ts ye one dated ye viii^th of Nob^r 1676 ye other viii^th of December 1677 for washing Surplices, for Brooms Brushes Rubbing Cloaths for both ye Clossetts, for loading and unloading at removing times the goods in his charge, for Holly and Ivy, Rosemery and Bays, and for horse hire in his Journeys to Newmarkett, And for his Attendance there for

sums at Newmarket. There could be little in common, we may venture to suppose, between Lord St. John and the Bishop as regarded fondness for the turf, yet the latter is not above taking an interest in the account of my Lord having 'won much money' at Newmarket, and his 'horse Tancred being victor again.'"—Vol. ii., xxx

* This horse may have been named after Tankered, a highwayman and horse-dealer of great notoriety, about this time, in Yorkshire.—See Publications of the Surtees Soc., vol. xl.

two yeares ended Michàs 1670 . . . lxxv^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}.—*Ibid.*, Rot. 108.

On the 14th of April the heads of the University of Cambridge waited upon the king at Newmarket and presented him with his father's works in two volumes.—Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," vol. iii., p. 543.

Francis Price esq^{r} Keeper of his Ma^{ts} private Armory for himselfe and his man in attending vpon his Matie with his Gunns to Newmarkett xviij^{en} dayes in March 1669 and 1670 and to Dover xx^{tie} dayes in May and June 1670 by warr^{tt} dated the xxxth of June 1670 . . . xix^{li}.—Audit Office Records. Declared Accounts. Bundle 397. Rot. 88.

1670. March.

Alice Massey for xxiiij^{ce} fine velvet Collers with his Ma^{ts} names and arms vpon them, vj^{ex} fine wrought Whipps for Hunting, and vj^{ex} fine silke Haines and Collers, & one thread Haine & Coller for Setting Doggs, all delivered to Mr John Ellis yeoman of his Ma^{ts} Wine-Celler for his Ma^{ts} vse & service by warr^{t} etc.—*Ibid.*, 92.

Thomas Stephens, Marshall to his Ma^{ts} Hunting-Horses at London, Hampton Court, and Newmarkett for Medicineing Blooding and Drenching the sayd Horses for the space of a whole yeare ended the last day of September 1669, according to xij^{ve} bills of the particulars examined and Attested by his Ma^{ts} Equerryes together with three warrants there-vpon signed by his Grace George Duke of Buckingham then Master of the Horse and dated the xiijth of Aprill 1671 Amounting in all as by the sayd severall bills and warrants and the acquittances for the money hervpon duly examined and remayneinge appeareth, And here allowed by vertue of the sayd warrant and Instrucc̃ons vnder the greate Seale of England before in the preface of this accompt menc̃oned to the sum̃e of lx^{li}.—*Ibid.* (Similar charges occur annually from 1664.)

The July meeting at Newmarket in 1670 was honoured by the presence of the king, queen, and the royal family. All the great officers of State, some of the Corps Diplomatique, the Court officials, and an

immense concourse of the nobility and gentry likewise attended the reunion, which seems to have been associated with many curious events, as may be gathered from the annexed references to it by contemporary writers.

John Evelyn,* the Diarist, who visited Newmarket in company with several persons of quality, in July, 1670, gives the following description of the new Palace of Pleasure then in course of being erected there by the king :

"We rode out to see the great mere, or level, of recovered fen land, not far off. In the way we met Lord Arlington [189] going to his house in Suffolk, accompanied with Count Ogniati, the Spanish Minister, and Sir Robert Gascoigne ; he was very importunate with me to go with him to Euston, being but fifteen miles distant ; but, in regard of my company, I could not. So, passing through Newmarket, we alighted to see his Majesty's house there, now new-building ; the arches of the cellars beneath are well turned by Mr. Samuel, the architect, and the rest mean enough, and hardly fit for a hunting-house. Many of the rooms above had the chimneys in the angles and corners, a mode now introduced by his Majesty, which I do at no hand approve of. I predict it will spoil many noble houses and rooms, if followed. It does only well in very small and trifling rooms, but takes from the state of greater. Besides," he adds, "this house is placed in a dirty street, without any court, or avenue, like a common one, whereas it might, and ought to have been built at either end of the town, upon the very carpet where the sports are celebrated ; but, it being the purchase of an old wretched house of the Lord Thomond's, his Majesty was persuaded to set it on that foundation, the most improper imaginable for a house of sport and pleasure." †

* As Secretary of the Latin Tongue he was frequently in attendance on the Court.

† It was sold by the Crown in 1816.

Evelyn and his party then paid a visit to the "stables and fine horses, of which," he tells us, "many were here kept at a vast expense, with all the art and tenderness imaginable;" and thence proceeding to the Heath, "the way being mostly a sweet turf and down, like Salisbury Plain, the jockeys breathing their fine barbs and racers, and giving them their heats." *

"When King *Charles* the IId. came to see the hunting palace which Sir *Christopher Wren* had built him at *Newmarket*, he told him 'he thought the rooms too low.' Sir *Christopher*, who was a little man, walked round them, and looking up, and about him, said, 'I think, and it please your Majesty, they are high enough.' The King squatted down to his height, and creeping down in this whimsical posture, cried, 'Aye, Sir *Christopher*, I think they are high enough.'" †

The autumn meeting at Newmarket this year took place in the months of September and October. It was attended by the king, queen, the royal family, the ministers of state, and all court officials. Charles invited the Prince of Orange over, but he did not arrive in time for the races. However, his royal highness was here in the following November, when he spent some time "in hunting and the other recreations of those parts." During his sojourn, all his expenses were defrayed by the king, ‡ the cost of the Newmarket visit amounting to £1846 10*s.* 5¼*d.*

September. October.

* The Countess of Castlemaine was created Duchess of Cleveland while at Newmarket during the king's sojourn there.

† "Richardsoniana: or, Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man," by Jonathan Richardson, jun., Esq., Lond., 1776, p. 103.

‡ Expenses of the journey of the king from Whitehall to Newmarket and back, in September, 1670, £306 15*s.* 8¾*d.*, and for October, £740 3*s.* 4¾*d.* Expenses of the journey of the queen from Whitehall to Audley End

About 11 o'clock, on the 9th of October, the queen arrived at Newmarket, accompanied by the Duchess of Buckingham, the Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Suffolk, and Lady Arlington, when they dined at one table with the king and the Duke of York. Soon after dinner, the queen and her ladies took coach for Euston, and were very nobly entertained there that night and the next day at dinner. There were many guests, including the Duke of Ormond and Sir Bernard Gascoigne. Lord Arlington was in attendance upon the queen, who the next day departed for Audley End, when the king was expected to pay a flying visit to Euston.*

The queen seemed to have been extremely well satisfied with her entertainment at Lord Arlington's seat, and said it would not be her last visit to it. "This day the races being run (one with Gorgrace and an other person I know not, tho the winner, & ye other wth Mr. Maye's Gelding who got the Course against a horse said to be backed by rich Cittizans), Her Majesty stayed in her Coach vpon ye Heath till they race finished & then went directly to Audley End."†

and back, in September, 1670, £641 13*s.* 3½*d.*, and ditto in October, £685 10*s.* 12½*d.*

"Expensis diet Allissim Dom̃ Gulielm̃ Principis Orang apud le Cockpitt et in Itinir' usq., Newmarkett mens November, 1670 M^l^ viij C xlvj^li^. x^s^ v^d^ qr."—*Vide* Cofferer's Accts., Rot. *s.d.*

[N.B.—These accounts are made up only to September 30, consequently the accounts of October come on the next year's enrolments.]

* Lord Arlington to Mr. Secretary Williamson. State Papers, Dom., Charles II., bundle 252, No. 22. MS., P.R.O.

† John Swaddle to Joseph Williamson, Secretary to the Right Hon. the Lord Arlington his Maties Principal Secretary of State at Whitehall, Newmarket, Oct. 6, 1670 at 11 at night. *Ibid.*, No. 32.

The minister to whom these events were communicated appears to have arrived at Newmarket soon after. Sir William Chetwynd,[190] in a complimentary letter to Williamson, regretted not being in London "to welcome your return from Newmarket, where I hear your health was so good, and your Complexion so refin'd y^t^ you came back not soe yellow as you went ot by Twenty Ginnys." *

Sir Charles Lyttleton, writing from Newmarket, October 10, to Lord Hatton, says he can give him no public news, as they talk of nothing there but horses and dogs, upon which topics he is unfortunately uncommunicative. †

A novel pedestrian affair, against time, is mentioned in the following letter :—

"Your neighbour [Lord] Digby[191] did upon a wager of £50 undertake to walk (not run or step) 5 miles on Newmarket Common in an hour, but he lost it by half a minute, but he had the honour of Good company, the King and all his nobles to attend to see him do it stark naked & barefoot." ‡

[189] Henry Bennet, second son of Sir John Bennet, of Dawley, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham, county Suffolk, acted as private secretary to Charles II. during his exile, by whom he was familiarly styled "Whereas." He was created Baron Arlington by letters patent, dated Westminster, March 14, 1663, Viscount Thetford in the county Norfolk, and EARL OF ARLINGTON, April 20, 1672 ; he was likewise a Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. He married Isabella, daughter of Louis of Nassau, Lord of Baverwaert, and Count of Nassau, by whom he had an only daughter and

* State Papers, Dom., bundle 294, No. 62.
† "Hatton Correspondence," vol. i., p. 57.
‡ Historical MSS. Coss. vii., Rep., p. 488*b*.*

heiress, Isabella, successor to her father's titles according to the limitations in the several patents. She married Henry Fitzroy, 1st Duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II. and Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. As we have seen, his lordship was a frequent visitor at Newmarket during the sojourns of the court there for the races. He died July 28, 1685, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was buried at Euston, in Suffolk, when all his honours and estates devolved upon his daughter's husband; and through his elder brother, John Bennett, descended the Earls of Tankerville.

[190] Sir William Chetwynd, of Grendon, county Warwick, son of John Chetwynd, Esq., of Ingestrie, and Mary, daughter and heiress of Lewis Meverett, Esq., of Bold Hall, county Stafford.

[191] William Digby, 5th Baron Digby, youngest son of Robert Digby, who was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, July 29, 1620, as Baron Digby of Geashill, in the King's county, and Lady Sarah Boyle, daughter of Richard, 1st Earl of Cork. His three elder brothers having succeeded in turn to the barony, and each dying without issue, William, 5th baron inherited in 1657. He married Lady Jane Noel, daughter of Edward, 1st Earl of Gainsborough, and died November 29, 1752.

The following is a copy of the post-office way-bill in use at this time. The post-boy had to produce it at each stage, when it was certified by the post-master on arrival and departure. The form was printed on paper; the blank spaces in it to be filled in are in italics :—

C. R.

For the Special Service and Affairs of His Majesty.

Haste, Haste, Post-Haste.

Whereas the Management of the Post-Stage of Letters of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is committed to my Care and

Conduct: These are therefore in his Majesty's Name to require you in your respective Stages to use all Diligence and Expedition in the safe and speedy Conveyance of this Mail and Letters from London to *Newmarket* and from thence to return: And hereof you are not to fail, as you will answer to the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand this 26 *Apr.* 1670 past ½ *past* 2 in the *afternoon.*

To the several Post-Masters
on *the* Road *between*
London & Newmarket.

Received at Waltham at 5 *of the Clock and sent away by John Louen*

Received at Ware at half howre after 6 *and sent away presently* ℔ *R A Bellamy.*

Received at Royston past 10 *and sent away by me Ann Adamson.*

Received at Cambridge past 1 *and sent away by me Robert Skyringe.*

The post mr of Newmarkett is hereby required to deliver this Expresse as directed whereever Mr Williamson shalbe into his owne hand withall possible speed & care.

A. Ellice.

All the profits of the Post Office were settled by Act of Parliament on the Duke of York; but the office of Post Master General was conferred by the king on the Earl of Arlington, Lord-Chamberlain of the Household. Letters were despatched from the General Post Office, in Bishopsgate Street, London, every Monday to France, Italy, Spain, Flanders, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and to Kent. Every Tuesday to the Netherlands, Germany, etc., and to all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Every Wednesday to Kent only, and the Downs. Every Thursday to France, Spain, Italy, and all parts of England and Scotland. Every Friday to the Spanish and United Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and to Kent. Every Saturday to all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The number of letters sent through the post "had now become so prodigiously great (since the meanest people have generally learnt to write) that this office is farmed for £ 30,000 a year." A letter containing a whole sheet of paper was conveyed eighty miles for 2*d.*, two sheets 4*d.*, and an ounce weight of letters to one address 8*d.*, "and that in so short a time, by night as well as by day, that every 24 hours, the Post goes 124 miles, and in 5 days, an

Post Office.

answer of a letter may be had from a place 300 miles distant from the writer. Moreover if any gentleman desire to ride post to any principal town in England, post horses are always in readiness (taking no horse without the consent of his owner) which in no other king's reign was not duly observed; and only 3*d.* is demanded for every English mile, and for every stage to the post boy 4*d.* for conducting."—Anglia Notitia.

To Doct^r Timothy Clarke one of the Phisitians in Ordinary to His Ma^ts Person for his Attendance &c on his Matie to Newmarkett by the space of xx^tie dayes end^d ye xv^th of Octob^r 1670, by vertue of a warr^t dated ye xxij^th of Octob^r 1670 . . . xxv^li. A.O.R. Rot. 95.

To Sr John Hinton, Knt. Phisitian in Ordinary to His Matie for his Attendance on His Matie at Newmarkett xx^tie dayes end^d ye xv^th of Octob^r 1670 by warr^t etc . . . xxv^li. (*Ibid.*)

To John Knight Esqr Serjeant Chirurgeon to His Ma^ty for his extraord' charges for himselfe, his man & horses in his Attendance vpon His Matie to Newmarkett, Dover, Windsor, and againe at Newmarkett in Aprill, May, August & Octob^r by ye space of lxxj^ti dayes at xx^s ℔ diem, by warr^t from the Lord Chamberlaine of His Ma^ts Household dated the xth of March 1670 lxxj^li. (*Ibid.*)

To Sir Alexander Fraiser Kn^t first and Principall, Phisician in ordinary to his Matie for rideing charges, and other expences for himselfe, men & horses in his attendance vpon his Matie to Newmarket by the space of xx^tie dayes ended the xv^th of October 1670 by Warr^t dated the xxx^th of November 1670 . . . xxx^li. (Rot. 92.) [Sir Alexander Fraser was also in attendance on the King at Newmarket during the October meeting in 1671, when he obtained a like allowance of 30*s.* per day.]

To Richard Collins, Gen^t Harbinger, Thos Brereton, Wm Cotton, & Thomas Sainbourne yeomen Harbingers & Nath. Cotton Assistant for their Attendance on His Matie at New-Markett xxviij^t dayes end^d the xvij^th of Octob^r 1670, the Gent^s Harbingers at ix^s, and v^s ℔ diem for each Yeoman by warr^t dated the xxiij^th of Decemb^r 1670 . . . xl^li xij^s. (Rot. 95.)

To Roger Harsnett & James Becke for their attendance

on His Matie at New Markett in Septemb^r & Octob^r 1670 x^tie^x dayes, at x^s ℔^r diem, by warr^t etc. (*Ibid.*)

"*Whitehall, March* 29. This morning His Majesty, accompanied by his Highness Prince *Rupert*, and attended by his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, and several other persons of quality, went hence for *Newmarket*, where His Majesty intends to pass a day or two, and to be back again by Saturday."—"London Gazette," March $\frac{27}{31}$, 1671. No. 560. Charles II. 1671. Newmarket. March—April.

"Yesterday [April 2] in the afternoon His Majesty returned from *Newmarket*, accompanied with His Highness Prince *Rupert*, and attended by His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the rest of the Court that had waited upon His Majesty thither."—*Ibid.*, No. 561.

The expenses of the *diet* of the king on his journey from Whitehall to Newmarket in the months of March and April, 1671, was £122 6*s.* 1¾*d.* (Cofferer's Acc., rot. *s. d.*, series i.); and the travelling expenses £65 15*s.* 5*d.* (*Ibid.*, series ii., Rot. *s.d.*)

The October meeting in 1671 attracted the king,* queen, several members of the royal family, all the sporting and many non-sporting men and women to Newmarket; among the last mentioned, was to be seen our old friend and gossip John Evelyn, who "after evening service," left London in the Treasurer's coach "with six brave horses," which were changed thrice on the journey, first at Epping, secondly at Bishop Stortford, and last at Chesterton. Arriving at Newmarket at night, Charles II 1671. Newmarket. October.

* The expenses of the diet, etc., of the journey of the king from Whitehall to Newmarket in September was £339 13*s.* or £149 6*s.* 6¾*d.* according to Series II. That of the queen for 12 days, viz. from Sept. 23rd to Oct. 4th, £149 6*s.* 6¼*d.* That of Prince Rupert and the French Ambassador, £839 11*s.* 9¾*d.*—Cofferer's Accs., Rot. *s.d.*

they proceeded immediately to the court, "the King and all the English gallants being there at their autumnal sports." The next day, after dinner, Evelyn was on the heath to see the great match run between Woodcok and Flatfoot, the former belonging to the king and the latter to Mr. Elliot, "of the Bedchamber," many thousands being spectators of what he terms one of the most signal races run for many years.

The royal palace at Newmarket being utterly insufficient to provide accommodation for the king's guests, his majesty had, after the manner and custom of the time, to look around among his loving subjects and appropriate, for the nonce, some hospitable roof capable of receiving and entertaining his worthy guests. Lord Arlington's* baronial seat at Euston was selected as the most eligible within easy distance of the heath. It had the honour of receiving, among other distinguished personages, the French Ambassador, Mademoiselle Querouaille,[192] the Countess of Sunderland, and several lords of high degree and ladies of great purity. "During my stay here with Lord Arlington," writes Evelyn, "near a fortnight, his Majesty came almost every second day with the Duke [afterwards James II.], who commonly returned to Newmarket, but the King often lay here, during which time I had twice the honour to sit at dinner with him, with all freedom. It was universally reported that the fair lady was bedded one of these nights, and the

* Sir Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State and afterwards Lord Chamberlain.

stocking flung, after the manner of a married bride; I acknowledge she was for the most part in her undress all day, and that there was fondness and toying with that young wanton; nay, it was said, I was at the former cerimony, but that is utterly false; I neither saw nor heard of any such thing whilst I was there, though I had been in her chamber, and all over that apartment late enough, and was myself observing all passages with much curiosity. However it was with confidence believed she was first made *a Miss*, as they call these unhappy creatures, with solemnity at this time."

On the 16th of the month "all the great men" from Newmarket and other adjacent parts came to Euston "to make their court, the whole house filled from one end to the other, with lords, ladies, and gallants; there was such a furnished table, as I had seldom seen, nor anything more splendid and free, so that for fifteen days there were entertained at least 200 people, and half as many horses, besides servants and guards, at infinite expense."

He describes the scenes at Newmarket from two points of view. At Euston, in the morning they went racing, hunting and hawking according to taste; in the afternoon "till almost morning, to cards and dice; yet I must say without noise, swearing, quarrel, or confusion of any sort." On the 21st he was in the town of Newmarket, where he says, "I found the jolly blades racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout, than a Christian Court." The Duke of Buckingham was

now in a mighty favour, and had with him that imputant woman, the Countess of Shrewsbury,* with his band of fiddlers, etc." The court returned to Whitehall on the 21st of October.

[192] Louise Renée de Penencovet de Quérouaille, afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth, was a frequent *habitué* at Newmarket during the reign of the Merry Monarch. The duchess came over to England in the suite of the Princess Henrietta on the occasion of H.R.H.'s mission in connection with the revocation of the Triple Alliance, and when this novel embassy landed at Dover, May 25, 1670, Mademoiselle de Quérouaille, one of the five maids of honour in attendance on the princess, made her first appearance in England. "Louis XIV.," says Hume, "in order to fix Charles in the French interests, resolved to bind him by ties of pleasure, the only ones which with him were irresistible; and he made him a present of a French mistress by whose means he hoped for the future to govern him." Mademoiselle de Quérouaille was the person alluded to by the historian. Her manners were ingratiating, her wit agreeable, and her face, still familiar to the visitors to the picture galleries at Hampton Court and South Kensington, was of surpassing beauty. The king was fascinated by her accomplishments, and, as Buckingham and the enemies of the Duchess of Cleveland assisted with their intrigues, it was not long before she became the professed mistress of the easy monarch, who gave her a magnificent suite of apartments in Newmarket Palace, and she continued his favourite to the day of his death. When the mission of the Princess Henrietta was concluded Charles presented his sister with a present of 6000 pistoles, to enable her to meet the expenses of her journey, which were very heavy. He also gave her a costly parting

* The Countess of Shrewsbury, whose husband having challenged the Duke, she is said to have held the horse of the latter in the habit of a page whilst they fought. The four seconds, each of whom were wounded, participated in this extraordinary duel, in which Shrewsbury was slain.

present, valued at 2000 pistoles, and told her that he wished her to leave him one of her jewels as a token of her affection. She readily promised compliance, and ordered Mademoiselle de Quérouaille to fetch her jewel-casket, when the king, taking the hand of the beautiful maid of honour, said that *she* was the jewel whom he coveted. The princess refused to be a party to this arrangement and carried her maid of honour back to France pure and undefiled; but soon after Henrietta was poisoned, Mademoiselle de Quérouaille was appointed a maid of honour to Queen Catherine, Queen of Charles II., and eventually a lady of the bedchamber. From the period of her being domesticated at the English court, commencing at this Newmarket meeting, we find her a spy on the actions of Charles, a mischief meddler in the English court, a promoter of French interests, and the cause of English debasement. There is no dishonest transaction, no profligate political intrigue, which disgraced the last years of this unhappy reign, in which she does not appear as a principal mover. The king's acceptance of a pension from France, his disgraceful engagements with that country, his crusade against parliaments, court jobberies, and the treachery of England towards the Dutch, were alike hatched in her closet and fostered under her influence. Thus could a trifler and a beauty sway the destinies of Europe. With a head teeming with wit, a stomach for greed, and a heart with the love of pleasure, the intriguing Frenchwoman was as much detested by the nation as she was beloved by the king. Charles continued more constant to her than to any of his other mistresses; indeed, she duped and enchanted him to the end. Her apartments in the palace at Newmarket were splendidly furnished, her tapestries magnificent, her pictures incomparable, and her plate solid and sumptuous. Her death took place at Aubigny, in France, in November, 1734, having survived her royal lover nearly fifty years.

Lord Arlington supplies the following incidents relating to the royal visit, etc., to Newmarket during this meeting:— Writing from Whitehall, September 7, 1671, to his Ex-

cellency Sir William Godolphin, Ambassador of the Court of St. James's at Madrid, says: "On the 25th His Majesty goes to *Newmarket*, and on the 26th, He intends to honour my House at *Euston* with his Presence, whither the Queen comes also, and from thence goes for *Norwich*." . . . His next letter to his Excellency is dated, *Euston-Hall*, October 9th, in which he apologizes for neglecting to communicate with him sooner, as he intended to have done, as he could not find time to do so: "Such has been the Honour and Trouble of this House, by the frequent returns of the King and Queen, and divers other *Newmarket* Men. Amongst the rest," he continues, "we have here my Lord *Sunderland*, whose preparations are making at *London* with all possible speed for his Embassy into *Spain*, whither he goes, under the Character of His Majesty's Extraordinary Ambassadour." Towards the end of this long despatch he says: "His Majesty hath nam'd Sir *George Downing* to be his Extraordinary Ambassadour into *Holland*, finding by a long Experience, that a rougher hand than Sir *William Temple's* must get him Right of the States, whose Ambassadour came lately to *Newmarket* to acquaint the King with his Masters' their Resolution to ask a Guaranty for their Countries of his Catholick Majesty, but delivered himself in such doubtful terms, that he could not tell whether it were a Notification of a thing already done, or an Invitation to His Majesty to join in the like Demand. His Majesty is now here, but returns early to Morrow Morning to *Newmarket*, where we cannot foresee his Stay will be longer than the 20th of this Month." *

1671. Newmarket. October.

A curious incident, in connection with the king's visit to Newmarket at this time, occurred during the return journey, when his Majesty partook of Henry Cromwell's † hospitality at Spinney Abbey, under the following novel circumstances, as

* "Letters to Several Ambassadors in Spain." London, 1701, vol. ii., pp. 334–338.

† Fourth son of the Protector Oliver, born at Huntingdon, January 20, 1628; colonel *c.* 1653; major-general, 1653; lord-deputy and commander-in-chief of Ireland, 1657; died March 23, 1674.

recorded by the Rev. Mark Noble: "After residing at Chippenham with his father and brother-in-law sir Fra. and sir John Russell, for five or six years he [Henry Cromwell] removed to his estate at Spinney Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire (a most retired situation); the estate was worth 4 or £600 per ann.; here 'he spent the remainder of his days, descending from the toilsome grandeur of governing men, to the humble and happy occupation of his husbandry': In this employment he was discovered by his sovereign k. Ch. II. who returning from Newmarket, in the month of Sept. [Qy. October], 1671, expressing his wish to call at some house and take refreshment, lord Inchiquin, Henry's brouther-in-law, when his majesty observed, that there was a very honest gentleman in this neighbourhood, that would think it an honour to entertain his majesty, which the king was pleased with, and desired him to conduct them to his friend's seat; when they came into the farm yard (which led to the house) his lordship, taking up a muck-fork, and throwing it over his shoulder, went before Mr. Cromwell, who was then in the yard, and wondering at so large a company coming so unexpectedly upon him, and still more so at this ceremony of the muck-fork; nor was the king without his surprize; What, says his majesty of fun, is the reason of this? Why, sire, says the muck-fork bearer, this gentleman, before whom I carry this implement of husbandry, is mr. Henry Cromwell, to whom I had the honour of being mace-bearer, when he was in Ireland; Charles laughed, poor mr. Cromwell was confounded; but the ease of the sovereign dissippated all disquietude; the hungry company were treated with what the hospitable Henry had, and they departed with good humour and pleasure on all sides." *

"From the Court at *Newmarket*, *October* 3. 1671. Friday the 29 past, His Majesty having Dined at Sir *John Hubbarts* House at *Blecking*, arrived about six a clock in the evening at Sir *Rol. Paston's* at *Oxney*, where His Majesty together with his Royal Highness, and the whole Court, were very nobly Treated at Supper; and the next day Her Majesty attended with all the Ladies of Quality of Her Court, came thither like-

* "Memoirs of the Cromwell Family," Birmingham, 1787, vol. i., pp. 211, 212.

wise to Dinner, which was very splendid; after Dinner His Majesty, together with his Royal Highness, leaving the Queen to return to *Norwich*, went thence to Lord *Townshends* House at Raynham, where He arrived about seven at night, attended by the said Lord, who as Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Norfolk*, accompanied with the Gentry of the Country, had at first received His Majesty in his passage from *Euston* to *Yarmouth*, at the confines of the County, and thence attended him in the whole passage through the County; His Majesty and the Court having lodged there that night, and the next day, after a great and noble Entertainment, parted thence yesterday morning for this plaace [Newmarket], where His Majesty arrived about noon, extremely satisfied with His Reception in the several places, where He had pleased to pass in his progress through Norfolk." *

To Thomas Samborne one of His Maties yeomen Harbingers and one Ayde for their Attendance on his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett xxxix^tie^ days end^d^ ye xxj^th^ of Octob^r^ 1671 etc. A.O.R. MS., P.R.O. (Rot. 95.)

To Doctor Thomas Waldron for his Attendance on His Maties Household at Norwich, Yarmouth and Newmarkett xxvij^n^ dayes ended ye xxj^th^ of October 1671 by warr^t^ etc. (*Ibid.*)

To John Chase Esqr Apothecary in Ordinary to His Ma^tis^ Person for his riding Charges &c in his attendance vpon His Matie at Norwich, Yarmouth, New-Markett &^c^ xxvij^n^ dayes in Septemb^r^ & Octob^r^ 1671, at the rate of xx^s^ ℔ diem by warr^t^ etc . . . xxvij^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To John Knight Esqr Serjeant Chirurgeon to His Matie for extraordinary charges for himselfe, his man & Horses in his Attendance vpon His Matie to Norwich, Yarmouth, and Newmarkett &^c^ xxvij^n^ dayes in Septemb^r^ & Octob^r^ 1671 by warr^t^ etc . . . xxvij^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To James Elliott Esqr groome of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary for his Lodging in his attendance vpon his Matie in his Progresse to Newmarkett, Norwich & other places in Sept. & Oct. by warr^t^ etc. iiij^li^. (Rot. 97.)

To George Price esq^r^ his Ma^tis^ Serg^t^ Trumpeter for himself, and foure of his Ma^tis^ Trumpeters for their riding charges, and other expences in their attendance vpon his

* The "London Gazette," October 25, 1671, No. 514.

Matie to Norwich, Yarmouth, Newmarket, Cambridge, and elsewhere by the space of xxvij days ended the xxj^th^ of October 1671 at the rate of x^s^ $\bar{p}$^d^ diem for himselfe, & v^s^ $\bar{p}$^d^ diem for each of the said Trumpetters, by like Warr^t^ dated the xx^th^ of December 1671 . . . xl^li^ x^s^. (Rot. 92.) [Two Under-Marshalls in attendance during the same journey were paid at the same rate.]

To Thomas Stevens, Marshall Farrier to his Ma^ts^ Hunting Horses at Hampton-Court, Redding, and Newmarkett etc for Medicineing bloodeing and drenching the said horses for the space of ij^we^ whole yeares viz : From the First day of October 1669 to the last day of September 1671 : As by ij^we^ severall Bills of Perticulars Examined by his Maties Equaries and signed and allowed by the Master of his Maties Horse and the Acquittances of the Parties who received the same amounts to the some of cxx^li^. (Rot. 95.)

We can find no reference to the spring meeting at head-quarters for the year 1672. The country was in a sad plight, and it is certain there was no royal visit to Newmarket. The Exchequer had suspended payment, by which the king became bankrupt, "multitudes of widows and orphants being beggared and undone." The sale of Dunkirk to Louis XIV. for £500,000 finally severed England's territorial interests on the Continent, which had survived from the Norman Conquest; but the "ravenous Mistress Palmer" was thereby enriched by her royal lover without regard to the prestige of the happy land upon which the sun never sets. And if the king was merry, and the court dissipated, the country at large had no right to complain; it was always in those days the prerogative of the public to suffer for the pleasures of its princes.

1672. Newmarket.

October.

We have now to turn our attention to the Newmarket October meeting of 1672, and the State Papers, from which we learn that the king was about to honour the races with his presence; and that Lord Arlington intends to "divert him at Euston with the hunting of a couple of hinds which he has kept there for that purpose."* On the 10th, W. Bridgeman writes to Sir J. Williamson: "All the news I can tell you from hence is that yesterday Mr. Bernard Howard lost a horse match of £225; and this morning all the Cheshire men are undone by a foot match of one of that County against a Servant of my Ld. Duke of Buckinghams, the latter remaining conqueror."† On the 12th the king paid a visit to Lord Arlington at Euston,‡ and a few days after the court returned to Whitehall. This, the only royal visit to the head-quarters of the Turf in 1672, cost the royal exchequer £903 18*s.* 11¾*d.*§

"We are commanded to give notice, That a Post is ordered to go every Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday at ten a clock at night to *Newmarket*, during his Majesties stay there, and to return from thence on the extraordinary days between Eleven and Twelve."—The "London Gazette," Sept. 30. / Oct. 3. 1672, No. 717.

"The queen and her court arrived from Norwich, atEuston

* State Papers, Dom., bundle 336, No. 4.

† *Ibid.*, No. 41.

‡ This royal visit seems to have extended over a month. Lord Arlington, writing on the 25th of October, to His Excellency, Sir Bernard Gascoyn, Ambassador Extraordinary at the court of Vienna, says: "I have been all this month at Euston during the time of his Majesty's being at Newmarket, which is the reason you have not heard from me."

§ Cofferer's Accts., Rot. *s.d.*

October 1, where she lodged that night, and after being very nobly entertained, left *viâ* Audley End for Whitehall, where she arrived on the evening of October 3."—*Ibid.*

Passing from the State Papers, and similar official archives, to the journal of Thomas Isham, of Pytchley, Northamptonshire, we meet with the earliest mention of the king as a jockey :—

"October 30, 1672. Mr. Bullivant, Parson of Maidwell, came and said the king had ridden two heats at Newmarket ('Ac dicit Regem apud novum Mercatum bis stadium currisse'), and the Duke of Albemarle's horse had fallen under him and broken his neck." *

To John Chase Esqr Apothecary in Ordinary to His Ma^ts^ Person for his riding Charges &c. in his Attendance vpon His Mat^tie^ at New Markett by the space of xx^tie^ dayes end^d^ ye xxj^th^ of Octob^r^ 1672 at the rate of xx^s^ ℔ diem by warr^t^ dated ye xij^th^ of Aprill 1673 . . . xx^li^. A.O.R., MS. P.R.O. (Rot. 95.)

To David Powell and Thomas Bocock, Pages of the Presence to His Matie for their charges and Expencis in their Attendance vpon his Matie at Newmarkett xx^ty^ daies ended the xxj^th^ of October 1672 at the rate of v^s^ ℔ diem to each of them, by warrant etc . . . x^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To Thomas Cooke Esqr Groome of his Ma^ts^ Privy Chamber in Ordinary for his Lodging in his attendance vpon his Matie in his Progresse to Newmarkett at xx^s^ a weeke by Warr^t^ dated the xiij^th^ of November 1672, being from the first to the xxj^th^ day of October 1672 . . . lx^s^. (Rot. 97.)

To Henry Legatt one of His Ma^ts^ Messengers for his riding Charges & Expences being sent an Express from New-

* Journal of Thomas Isham, translated by the Rev. R. Isham, rector of Lamport, with an introduction, notes, and indexes, by Walter Rye, Norwich (privately printed), Mullen and Leavins, 1875, 8vo.

markett to Euston in October 1672, for his attendance on His Maties service at Newmarket from the iij^rd to the xx^th of October by warr^t etc. (*Ibid.*)

To James Pearse Esqr Chirurgion in Ordinary to his Maties Household for his Charges and Expences being comanded to attend his Maties service and for his attendance vpon his Matie at Newmarkett from the second to the xxj^th of October 1672 at xx^s ℔ diem by warr^t etc . . . xix^li. (Rot. 97.)

To Luke Hemings & Tho Smith two of the Kn^t Marshalls men attending his Matie to Newmarkett xix daies from the ij^d to ye xix^th of October 1672 at v^s a day each warr^t dated the ix^th of Decb^r 1672 . . . ix^li x^s. (Rot. 105.)

To Jervace Price Esqr Keeper of his Maties Private Armory for riding Charges for himselfe and man in attending vpon his Matie with his Guns xxj daies from the first to ye xxj^th of October 1672 at x^s ℔ diem, as by bill & Warrant etc. . . . x^li x^s.

To Richard Collins & Wm Cotton Gentlemen Harbingers for themselves & iij^re yeomen Harbingers for their attendance vpon his Matie at Newmarket xxvij daies in Septr and October 1672 at the rate of x^s & v^s ℔ diem etc. (Rot. 111.)

Richard Blome * gives the following particulars of Newmarket in his topographical description of Cambridgeshire, about this period:

Charles II. 1673. Newmarket.

"*New-market*, seated part in this *County*, and part in *Suffolk*, and in a large and pleasant Heath so called; and although a *Town* of no long continuance, yet it is a place well-known and frequented by the *Gentry*, as being a usual place for *Horse-races* and *Hunting*, by reason of the commodiousness of its scituation. And in this *Heath* is a *Ditch*, called by the *Inhabitants* the *Devils Dike*, which is vulgarly said to be cast up by the *Devil* in one night; whereas in truth it was made for a defence of the *East-Angles* against the *Mercians*, and as a division of their *Kingdom*. The *Town* is not very large, yet containeth 2 *Parish Churches*, one of which is in this County, and the other in *Suffolk*; and is replenished with well built *Houses*, where his *Majesty* hath

* "Britannia: or, a Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland," Lond. 1673, p. 31.

his *Palace*, and doth often honour this *Town* with his royal Presence for his divertisement, which adds no small advantage to it. The *Market* is kept here on *Tuesdays*, which is not very considerable, by reason of its vicinity to *Cambridge*, *Bury*, and other considerable places."

In his description of Suffolk he says; "*New-market*, composed of a well built *street*, seated upon the great Road, full of *Inns*, the *Townsmen* living chiefly upon *Passengers*, and the advantage of the *Court* when his *Majesty* is pleased for his divertisement in *Hunting* and *Horse-races* to lodge there, for which purpose there is a *house* built on *Cambridge* side for his reception. The *Town* stands in such a plain, that it hath a prospect three quarters of the *Compass*, almost to the bounds of the *Horizon*; to the South-East it is more rising ground, ending in *Woodland*. It consists of two *Parishes*, one in *Suffolk*, the other in *Cambridgshire*, but their *Market-place* and the whole *street* is in *Suffolk*, which occasions those that live on the South-side to hang all their *Sign-posts* on hinges, so that when the fancy takes them, they may draw them to the sides of the *Wall*, and consequently into their own *County*. Their Market is on *Tuesdays*, having choise *wares*, and being well frequented and served with *fish* and *wild*-fowl from the *fenny County*, and *Pigeons* from the fielding. And here the *women* imploy themselves in spinning *White-work*." *

Charles II. 1673. Newmarket. March.

The only reference to the spring meeting at Newmarket in 1673, which we have been able to discover, occurs in the Cofferer's Accounts for that year, viz. "Expenss Dom. Re. Itinere vsq. Audley ende et Newmarkett mense M^r^ij 167⅔ iiij^c^ii xiiij^s^ vj *ob.*" † According to this entry it is evident the royal journey was made before the 25th of March;

* *Ibid.*, p. 210.

† Series ii. Rot. *s.d.*; and in series i. a further charge of £33 19*s.* 4*d.* is made for the same journey, which cost the royal exchequer altogether £434 13*s.* 10*d.*

and according to the "Gazette," the king prorogued the Parliament in the House of Lords on the 29th of this month; hence it seems that this royal *réunion* at head-quarters was apparently a short and merry affair.

The Newmarket spring meeting in 1674 was patronized by the king, the Duke of York, etc., and apparently came off during the Easter holidays. The State Papers, and indeed the contemporary literature of the period, gives no particulars of the races, nor of the incidents of the meeting. This royal visit was attended with heavy expenses. In March the bill amounted to £860 9*s.* 10*d.* In April it was £521 0*s.* 6*d.* So that the sojourn and the expenses of the journey from Whitehall to Newmarket and back cost the royal exchequer nearly £1400.*

Charles II. 1674. Newmarket. March—April.

"*Whitehall, April* 11. This day His Majesty, accompanied by his Royal Highness, and attended by several of the Nobility, and other persons of quality, returned hither from *Newmarket* in perfect health."—The "London Gazette," April 9–13, 1674.†

The king, with his usual retinue, attended the October meeting at a cost of £849 12*s.* 0½*d.* Not a single particle of information has been met with con-

* Cofferer's Accs., series i. & ii. MS., P.R.O.

† While at Newmarket during this meeting the king was informed of Henry Cromwell's death. "Charles expressed his regard for him, inquired into the particulars of his disorder, and asked whether they had given him his drops; his majesty having always taken much pleasure in chymestry, and had a laboratory in Whitehall, over which Sir Thomas William's presided."—"Noble's Memoirs," vol. i. p. 213.

cerning the races. On the 8th of that month the Duke of Monmouth, who was at Newmarket in attendance on the Court, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge stating the king's displeasure at the clergy wearing their hair and perukes of unusual and unbecoming length. The practise of reading sermons was ordered to be discontinued, and in future the preachers were commanded to deliver their sermons both in Latin and English "by memory or without books." Similar orders were conveyed to the Vice-Chancellor and University of Oxford and their "loving friend and Chancellor" had no doubt his behests would be obeyed.* Truly a curious proof of the king exercising his divine functions as Defender of the Faith! October.

As a curious commentary on the preceding occurrence the king asked Bishop Stillingfleet, "how it came to pass, that he always read his sermons before him, when, he was informed, he always preached without book elsewhere?" To which he replied, that "the awe of so noble an audience where he saw nothing that was not greatly superior to him; but chiefly, the seeing before him so great and so wise a prince, made him afraid to trust himself." With which answer the king was very well contented. "But pray," says Stillingfleet, "will your Majesty give me leave to ask you a question too? Why do you read your speeches in parliament, where you can have none of the same reasons?" "Why, truly, Doctor," responded the king, "your question is a very pertinent one, and so will be my answer. I have asked them so often, and for so much money, that I am ashamed to look them in the face." †

* State Papers, Dom., bundle 350, No. 362.

† "Richardsoniana," p. 91.

Charles II. c. 1674. Newmarket.

The following order was issued empowering the Post Master General to seize horses to convey the mails between Newmarket and London during the sojourn of the court at headquarters :—

Sir Joseph Williamson Knt., one of His Majtles most Honbl Privy Councill and Principall Secretary of State, &c

To all Postmasters and others whom it may concerne Greeting. These are in his Majties name to pray and require you to furnish the Bearer hereof Henry Slingesby Esqr with foure able Post-horses from Stage to Stage in his way from Newmarket to London and soe at his returne againe at the usuall Postrate; In the execution whereof all Majors, Justices of Peace, Constables, and whom it may concerne are hereby required to be ayding & assisting to you as there may be occasion. Given at the Court at Newmarket Oct. 6th 74.

J. Williamson.*

Charles II. Horses. c. 1674.

About this time the following Ordinance was issued by the Board of Green Cloth for the regulation of the royal stables :—

Charles R.

A list of the Horse-Liveries allowed, etc.

Hunting, *Race or Running horses*, Geldings and Pads 12; Coach horses 42; Bobble horses 4; Coursers and managed horses for the great saddle 20; Stoole horses (blank); Male Horses 2; Sumpter horses 9; pack horses (blank); chariot horses 2.

Hay for 287 horse and nags liveries, at a bottle a night a peice, 10 by the year about 1138 loads, at the load, £2389 16*s.* 0*d.*

Oats for 265 horses, and 22 nags, at half a bushel for a horse and a peck for a nag a night, 10 by the year 2696 qrs. 2lbs at the Quarter, £5666 12*s.* 6*d.*

* State Papers, Dom., bundle 359, $\frac{\text{May}}{\text{Oct.}}$ 1674.

Straw by estimation, 552 trusses a week, at *6d.* a truss ℔ ann., £717 12*s.* 0*d.*

Bread and Beans by estimate, £500 0*s.* 0*d.*

Forrage for 287 horses and nags c 1*d.* a horse a day, and 1*d.* a nag ℔ ann. £537 4*s.* 8¼*d.*

For extraordinary charges and expences in progresses and winter journeys with the increase of the price of horsemeat standing in Inns with other contingencies £500.

Total £10,311 5*s.* 2¼*d.**—MS. Board of Green Cloth, Buckingham Palace.

To Edmond Medlycott Esqr His Ma^{ts} Kn^t Harbinger for his riding Charges and other expences in his attendance vpon his Matie at Newmarkett from the xxvij^{th} of March 1674. to the xiiij^{th} of Aprill 1674 for himselfe and two March—April. aydes by warr^t dated the xvj^{th} of April 1674 . . . xix^{li}. A.O.R., MS. P.R.O. (Rot. 97.)

To William Cotton, Thomas Wetherall, Nathaniell Cotton, and William Quarles for their attendance on his Matie at Newmarkett from ye xxvij^{th} of March to ye xiiij^{th} of April 1674 . . . xxij^{li} xv*j*^s. (Rot. 99.)

To John Chance Esqr Apothecary in ordinary to his Ma^{ts} ℔'son by warr^t dated the ix^{th} of November 1674 with his bill annexed for his riding charges and other expences for himselfe his men and horses in his attendance vpon his Ma^{ty} at Newmarkett x^n dayes from the ij^d to the ixj^{th} of Febr̃y 1674, And also for his attendance again at Newmarkett xx^{ty} days from the xxij^{th} of Septr to the xijth of October 1674, xxx days at the rate of xv^s a day . . . xxij^{li} x^s. (Rot. 102.)

To Tho: Woodhouse and Thomas Bococke two Pages of his Ma^{ts} Presence by warr^t dated the ix^{th} of November 1674 with his bill annexed for riding charges and other expences in theire attendance on his Ma^{ty} at Newmarkett x^n days from the ij^d to the xj^{th} of April 1674, at v^s ℔ diem. . . . xl^s. (*Ibid.*)

* This was probably included in the bulk sum of the expenses of the royal stables which was annually paid through the Cofferer of the Wardrobe, and usually amounted to about £20,000, or nearly a fourth of the whole cost of the Household.

To Thomas Smith & Hercules Rookes two of the Knight Marshalls men attending his Matie to Newmarkett xij daies ended the xij^th^ of Aprill 1674 by warr^t^ dated the xvj^th^ of May 1674. . . . vj^li^. (Rot. 105.)

To Richard Collins & William Cotton, Gentlemen Harbingers, and Jacob Withers, Mathew Cotton & William Quarles Yeomen Harbingers for their attendance vpon his Matie at Newmarkett from the xij^th^ of September to the xij^th^ of October 1674 . . . lj^li^ iij^s^. (Rot. 97.)

October.

To Thomas Offley Esqr his Ma^ts^ Groome Porter for Spanish Tables, ffolding-Stooles, Brass Sconces, ffire Shovells & Tongs, ffire Grates, Gilded Sheilds, Pewter Cisterns, & Wall-Plates, Lanthornes, & other necessaries p^r^vided for his Maties service at Whitehall, Hampton Court & New Markett for one year ended ye xviij^th^ of October 1674 by warrant dated ye viij^th^ of June 1675 . . . v xj^li^. (Rot. 105.)

To James Elliott, Maurice Wynn & Robt. Thompson, Groomes of his Ma^ts^ Privy Chamber for their Lodging & Attendance on his Matie in his Progress to Windsor & Newmarket by the space of xx weekes ended the xij^th^ of October 1674 by warr^t^ dated the iij^d^ of Septr 1674 at xx^s^ p^r^ weeke . . . xx^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To Luke Hemyngs & John Harvey two of ye Vnder marshalls men for their ridinge Charges & other expences in their Attendance on his Ma^ty^ at Newmarket from the xxiij^th^ of Sept to ye xij^th^ of October 1674 by warran^t^, etc. . . . x^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To Jervace Price, Esqr Keeper of his Ma^ts^ Private Armory for Riding Charges, & other Charges, & Expences in his attendance vpon his Matie at Windsor & Newmarket Cxxv daies ended the xij^th^ of October at xv^s^ a day, by bills etc. . . . iiij^xx^ xiij^li^ xv^s^. (Rot. 105.)

The king attended the spring meeting at Newmarket in 1675, where he rode and won several important races. He was accompanied by a large

and distinguished suite, including the Duke of York, Secretary Coventry,[193] Sir Robert Carr, Sir Joseph Sheldon,[194] and other ministers and officers of state. Lord Arlington, who of course was to the fore, arrived at Euston early in the month, when reports were current that the king contemplated to postpone his visit for a couple of weeks. Gossip had it that Sir Robert Carr "resolved to attend considerably" at the races during the meeting, and on the 8th we find the doughty knight temporarily occupying the lodgings of the principal Secretary of State at Newmarket, which he promised to resign "on Wednesday by ten o'clock."

Charles II. 1675. Newmarket. March.

In the meantime, the king and court arrived, and up to the 11th Sir Robert Carr nominally had the management of current affairs of state, but found the king "unwilling to give him ear." Indeed, as usual at Newmarket, business was got through under difficulties. The following day Lord Arlington apologizes to Mr. Secretary Williamson for want of promptitude in attending to certain duties relating to his department, as nothing was thought of save the success of the races; the splendid weather and the salubrity of the air proved beneficial to the king's health, as it did to the health and enjoyment of the Lord Chamberlain.

Sir Robert Carr, in a despatch to Whitehall, incidentally recorded the occurrence of one of those accidents so frequent at public race-meetings in those times, by which a previous "success" was somewhat marred:—"A fellow of Jesus College," wrote Sir Robert, "crossed the way [*i.e.* the course] flung Mr.

Hilton and the Scotch [horse] down who had otherwise beaten Diamond on whose side great odds was layde. By this accident Mr. May suffered some 100 of pounds monie, others, and we, to the value of £110 guineas."

A change in the weather had taken place on the 13th, on which date Mr. Secretary Coventry wrote: "We have no news hence, but March dust and December ice. I am in great haste, viz. coming from hunting and going to dinner." On the 15th Sir Robert Carr reports the death of John Wiclife, one of the popular horse-coursers of the age. The next day his despatch to Williamson contained the following Newmarket gossip: "We have noe manner of news; noe Horse match yesterday, nor this day: to-morrow Lustie runs, there is two or three Thousand pounds betted on that match. Ned Power, Walden, and your humble servant now and then drink your health."

On St. Patrick's Day—curiously enough a red-letter one in Newmarket racing calendar of this period—Sir Robert alludes to the "famous match" to be decided that afternoon. Unfortunately he eschews details, but is full of two matches he had just made, and was occupied negotiating another against the next meeting, when he hoped to have the pleasure of Williamson's company at Newmarket. Fortunately Secretary Coventry is more communicative: "We are here hot in our wagers but cold in our carcases: I will assure you I have felt, since my being here, as much cold in an English spring as an Italian winter." He omits to mention the result "of the great Affair betwixt

Lusty and Nutmegge, wherein Mr. Frampton a gentleman of some £120 rent, is engaged £900 deepe." Frampton was the heaviest, and most successful, plunger on the Turf at this time. His career as a Turfite, as will appear from time to time in these Annals, was very remarkable. Even at this date Coventry compares him to the celebrated French gamester: "I hope the world will see wee have men who dare venture as well as Mon^sr de Turenne." The issue of this great match is pathetically told in Sir Robert Carr's despatch on the 18th: "We were all undone yesterday: Lustie Lord Montacute's[195] Horse being sadly beaten." Frampton thus pulled off one of those remarkable *coups* for which he was subsequently celebrated. He is referred to as a tout of the period by Sir George Etherege[196] in the well-known couplet—

> "I call a spade a spade; Eaton[197] a bully;
> Frampton[198] a pimp; and brother John a cully."

On the 19th Sir Robert Carr informed his colleagues at Whitehall that, at Newmarket, the weather was not so seasonable as they could wish, adding that "the Matches are so ordered, that there is noe thoughts of the King stirring untill to-morrow sennight." A hiatus occurs for some days; but on the 23rd the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster mentions how the interval was occupied with racing, intermingled with theatricals, cards, hawking, and social intercourse. The king and the Duke of York supped without ceremony with all for whom room could be found: "And thanks be to God I never saw the King and the Duke in better health or better humour."

Sir Robert's despatch of the 24th is exceedingly interesting. It exhibits the Merry Monarch riding his own horses and winning all before him: "Yesterday his majestie Rode himself three heats and a course and won the Plate, all fower were hard and nere run, and I doe assure you the King wonn by good Horseman Ship. Last night a match was maid between Blew Capp and a consealed horse of Mr. Mayes called Thumper to Runn the six mile course twelve stone waite vpon Tuesday in Easter week, for a 1000 guineas. And this is all our Newmarket news." * The expenses of the king in his journey from Whitehall to Newmarket and back amounted to £860 9s. 10¾d.

[193] Sir William Coventry, fourth son of Thomas Coventry, 1st Baron Coventry of Aylesborough, county Worcester, and his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Aldersey, Esq., of Spurstow. Sir William was born in 1626, and in 1642 became a gentleman commoner of Queen's College, Oxford; and after he had continued there some time, he travelled on the continent, and at his return, adhering to Charles II., was made secretary to the Duke of York, also secretary to the Admiralty; and elected M.P. for Great Yarmouth in the Parliament which met at Westminster, May 8, 1661; and also in that which was summoned in 1678. He was sworn of the Privy Council, and received the honour of knighthood June 26, 1667; being, as Bishop Burnet relates "a man of great notions and eminent virtues; the best speaker in the House of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it, and deserved it more than all the rest did." Yet, as he was too honest to engage in the designs of that reign, and quarrelled

* State Papers, Dom., bundle (March) 359, *passim*.

with the Duke of Buckingham, a challenge passed between them; upon which he was forbid the court, and retired to Minster-Lovel, near Whitney, in Oxfordshire, where he gave himself up to a private course of life, without accepting any employment, though he was afterwards offered more than one of the best posts in the court. He died June 23, 1686, unmarried, at Somerhill, near Tunbridge-Wells (where he went for the benefit of the waters, being afflicted with gout in his stomach), and was buried at Penhurst.

[194] SIR JOSEPH SHELDON, of London, was knighted by Charles II. in 1663.

[195] Francis Browne, 3rd VISCOUNT MONTACUTE (or Montague), eldest son and successor of Anthony-Mary Browne, the 2nd Viscount, and Jane, daughter of Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, succeeded his father, October 23, 1629. This nobleman suffered considerably in the royal cause during the civil wars, but lived to hail the restoration of the monarchy and the Turf. His lordship married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, by whom he had Francis and Henry, successively Viscounts Montacute, and Elizabeth, married to Christopher Roper, 5th Lord Teynham. He died November 2, 1682. In the first edition of "The General Stud Book" of James Weatherby (London, 1803, 8vo), page 358, the compiler incidentally remarks that "Lord Montagu of Cowdry in the time of Charles IId. was famous for his stud of horses."

[196] Sir George Etherege was a courtier of the first rank in the gay court of Charles II., and author of several plays, He followed James II. to France, and is said to have been killed at Raisbon by a fall downstairs after he had been drinking freely.

[197] Sir John Eaton was a noted writer of songs.

[198] Frampton was third son of William Frampton, by his

wife, Catherine Tregonwell, of Moreton, Devonshire, where he was born in 1641. He died at Newmarket in 1729, aged eighty-eight. We shall subsequently refer to his career at length.

October.

Concerning the Newmarket October meeting, we have no details to give. It was apparently well attended. The Parliament was at the time in session at Westminster, to which may be attributed the absence of the court and many of the usual notabilities. The Earl of Suffolk, Deputy Earl Marshal, wrote from Newmarket on October 12, expressing his willingness to attend his parliamentary duties if his presence there was required, and leave "those innocent sports." However, his proxy sufficed, although he then appears to have been occupied in devising the armorial bearings of the young Duke of Grafton.*

Newmarket. The Palace. 1675.

The earliest account extant during this reign relating to the works and buildings of the royal palace at Newmarket is that for the years 1675–1676, the cost of which amounts to £229 18s. 7½d. The subjoined is a verbatim copy of the little bill; it tells its own story and calls for no comment:

"Alsoe allowed the said Accomptant for money by him Isued and paid for sundry workes and reppairacons done for his Maty att NEWMARKETT in the months of November, December, January, and Febry 1675, by Masons, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Labourers, and others, For performance whereof sundry Empc̃ons and Provic̃ons have been bought and Pro-

* State Papers (October), 124. MS., P. R. O.

vided which with their quallities, quantities, and prices, and other Charges doe hereafter more particularly ensue (viz) for a beame, Oake, Timber, and Planks lxiij^{li} iiij^{s} iiij^{d}; deales & Ballisters xxj^{li} xs ij^{d}; Laths iiij^{s} viij^{d}; Tyles and Tile Pinns xl^{s} vj^{d} Lyme, Haire and Sand xv^{s} x^{d} Two Stone Troughs vij^{li} Ironmongers wares and Smiths worke vj^{li} v^{s} iiij^{d} And for Glasse and Glasiers worke xix^{s} iiij^{d} Wages, (viz), Of Carpenters at ij^{s} ℔ diem xxiij^{li} xij^{s} Bricklayers at ij^{s} ℔ diem xxx^{s} Labourers att xij^{d} ℔ diem xv^{s}. Masons Worke iij^{li} ix^{s} x^{d}. ob: And for Taskeworke viz. To Henry Biowes Carpenter for worke done in and about the Kings Stables, where the Running Horses stand and at the Ice well $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ xviij^{li} xj^{s} vij^{d}. IN ALL the said Charges of the workes and Repairacons done at [and] bestowed for his Mat^{ys} at NEW-MARKETT in the months of November, December, Janry, and Febrūry 1675, As by one particular Pay-booke thereof subscribed with the hands of the Principall Officers of his Ma^{ts} Workes,* menc̄oning the particular services ℔formed there together with names and wages of the Artificers, Workmen, and Labourers, as were employed therein, with their respective times of service, as also the quantities, quallities and prices of the severall Empc̄ons and Provic̄ons vsed and expended, herevpon such examined and remaineing doth and may appeare. The sume of CCxxix^{li} xviij^{s} viij^{d} ob. †

To Andrew Cockinne his Ma^{ts} Yeoman-Ryder for his Charges & Expences in Physicking his Ma^{ts} Horses at Newmarket by Warr^{t} vnder his Ma^{ts} Signett & Signe Manuall dated ye xxixth of Aprill 1675 . . . C^{li}.—Audit Office Records. Declared Accounts.

Charles II. 1675. Newmarket. April.

* Sir Christopher Wren, surveyor of the works, had 8*s.* a day, and 5*s.* 2*d.* a day extra for his entertainment; Hugh May, Esq., comptroller, 6*s.* a day, and 2*s.* 6*d.*; Philip Parker, Esq., paymaster, 4*s.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.*; Joshua Marshal, master mason, 3*s.* 10*d.*, and 1*s.* 9*d.*; the master carpenter and other foremen artisans were paid at about the same rate. Their travelling expenses were charged for and allowed.

† "L. T. R., Works and Buildings," No. 94. The Accompt of Phillip Packer, Esq., Paymaster of his Ma^{ts} Workes and Buildings, &^{c}. MS., P. R. O.

Account of Sir Edward Griffin Kn^t^, Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household. Bundle 400. (Rot. 105.)

To Richard Collins, & Willm Cotton Gent^n^ Harbingers, Tho: Wetherell, Nathan Cotton & William Quarles Yeomen Harbingers for their Travelling expences in their attendance on his Matie at Newmarket from the xxiij^th^ of Febry 1674 to ye xxx^th^ of March 1674 by warr^t^ dated the xiij^th^ of April 1675 . . . lix^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To John Lowther, Esqr & James Elliott, Esqr, Groomes of his Ma^ts^ Privy Chamber by warr^t^ dated the xxjth of Aprill 1675, for lodgeing out of Court in their attendance on his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett iij^n^ weekes from the viij^th^ of March 167$\frac{4}{5}$ to the xxix^th^ of the same month 1675 at xx^s^ ₱ weeke . . . lx^s^. (Rot. 108.)

To William Smith one of y^e^ Messengers of His Ma^ts^ Chamb^r^ vpon iij^ee^ Bills signed by Mr. Secretary Williamson for his charges to Newmarkett and backe againe & other expences in y^e^ execution of his Ma^ts^ service in ye months of October & November 1675 & in July 1676 . . . xiiij^li^ ij^s^ iiij^d^. (Rot. 102.)

To Thomas Dunskley his Ma^ts^ Closett-Keeper in Ordinary for washing Surplices, for Providing Brooms, Rubbers, and other Wypers for loading and unloading (at sev^ll^ removing times) the Stuffe in his Charge and for Horsehire and other charges in his severall Journeys to Newmarkett &^c^ for iiij^r^ yeares and a halfe from Lady day 1671 to Michãs 1675 by six Warr^ts^ etc . . . CCxij^li^ xv^s^. (Rot. 105.)

1671–1675.

To Jervace Price Esqr Keeper of his Ma^ts^ Privy Armory for riding charges & other expences for attending vpon his Matie with his Guns at Windsor and Newmarket Cvj daies between the ij^d^ of Aprill 1674 and the xj^th^ of Septr 1675 by bills etc. . . . lxxix^li^ x^s^. (*Ibid.*)

1674–1675.

BOOK XIII.

NEWMARKET IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. (*continued*). 1676–1680.

1676. The spring meeting—Arrival of the King, the Duke of Monmouth, the ministers of state and officers of the court—Swedish weather—Sporting life at Newmarket under difficulties—Royal visits to the local gentry—Life at the palace—State affairs neglected—Change in the weather—Field sports—Cocking by candlelight—The races—Great match between Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Frampton for £1000—Numerous matches between the King and Lord Montague—Stable *v.* stable—Expenses of the royal visit—The July meeting—Probabilities of its being attended by the King—The October meeting—Visit of the King, Queen, and court—Racing intelligence—The Jockey Club of the period—The King sups with the jockeys, when the matches for the ensuing meeting are made—Expenses of the court—Works and buildings at the palace and royal stables at Newmarket—Allowances to the court officials, play-actors, doctors, musicians, etc. etc.—1677. The spring meeting—Visit of the King—His charges—The palace—Elizabeth Elliot appointed custodian—Her duties and remuneration—The September-October meeting—Attended by the King—The races—Hunting and hawking—Naval affairs—Alleged plot to assassinate the King and the Duke of York—Arrival of the Prince of Orange—Royal nuptial negotiations at Newmarket—Works and buildings at palace—And at royal stables—Allowances to the court officials, etc.—1678. The spring meeting—Cockers and highwaymen—The October meeting—Attended by the King and court—Current affairs—Public business neglected—The Popish plot—Confessions of the Secretary of State—Works and buildings at the palace—Payments to the court servants, etc.—1679. The October meeting—The Court not expected at Newmarket—Illness of the King at Windsor—Court gossip—Parliamentary elections—The King convalescent—His anxiety to be at Newmarket

—Directs the necessary preparations for the journey to be made—Is the air of Newmarket good for the royal patient?—Doctors differ—The King finally decides to attend the meeting—The court officials commanded to make ready—The post daily between London and Newmarket during the meeting—Arrival of the King, Queen, and the "whole court" at the palace—Passing events—The air of Newmarket agrees with the royal constitution—Charles soon restored to his former health and vigour—Works and buildings at the palace—Repairs and additions to the stables and "Talking-house" at the stand—Ordinary expenses of the King and Queen during this sojourn—Incidental charges of the court officials, etc.—Visit of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Cambridge University—Their tips to the royal lackeys—1680. The spring meeting—Merry times in London preparatory to the journey down—The King feasted by the Lord Mayor—Carousing extraordinary—Contrast between a royal banquet in the City of London and at Newmarket palace—Arrival of the King, Queen, the Duke of York, and the court—The races—The six-mile course—The three-mile course—The town plate—Lords *v.* Commons—Gentlemen jockeys—The plate won by Lord Griffin, who presents it to the town—Great match between Shuffler and Ball—Popularity of the races—London empty—Proceedings of the court at Newmarket—Field sports—Numerous robberies by highwaymen—The Duke of York's foxhounds—Bowling—The Mares' and Geldings' plate—Races for the spoons and other prizes—Important match for £500 over the six-mile course—Heavy betting thereon—Pedestrianism—Capture of a highwayman on the heath—The "correct card" of the period—List of the principal races—The Beacon course—"The Rising Sun"—Honours paid to the Duke of York at Newmarket—A royal hawking meet on the heath—More highway robberies—Welshing—More racing—The King's horses beaten in every race—Projected May meeting—The Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Cambridge University entertained at the palace—The jockeys similarly honoured—Cost of the feasts—Expenses of the King and Queen during this sojourn—The May meeting—Attended by the King—The October meeting—Visit of the King, Queen, Duke of York, the Princess (Queen Anne), and the court—Royal visit to Euston Hall—Illness of the Queen—The King in the dumps—Paucity of racing intelligence—Sidney Godolphin on duty—Race between Gee and Tucker—Festivities at the palace—The Earl of Sunderland as a gamester—Banishment of the Duke of York—Works and buildings at the palace—Expenses of the court and the court officials during the royal sojourn—Death of the Earl of Rochester—Memoir.

THE Newmarket spring meeting of 1676 was attended by the king, the Duke of York the Duke

of Monmouth, and many of the ministers of state; but owing to a confliction of dates it is hard to say precisely when it began or ended.*

Charles II. 1676. Newmarket. March—April.

Mr. Coventry, Secretary of State in attendance on the court, writing from Newmarket, March 20, 1676, to Mr. Secretary Williamson at Whitehall, says:—"We have here Swedish weather, snow and frost and the coldest wind I ever felt. However, I find his Maj^ty not at all inclined to change his day which will be Saturday next w. for his return to town." † Unfavourable weather prevailed throughout the entire time the court remained at Newmarket. On April 2nd, Mr. Coventry wrote that they hardly knew what to do; the ground was too hard for either hunting or racing in any part; nevertheless they were "busy taking the ayre which her Maj^ty doth more on foot than on horseback." No one could discover when the court was

* Mr. Secretary Williamson to H. E. Sir L. Jenkins, Ambassador at Nimeguen:—

"Whitehall 28 March 1676

"My Lord,

"In ye hurry y^r Excellency may imagine wee are all in upon the Kings remove to morrow for Newmarkett, I must beseech your Ex^cy to excuse me if this be but only to give cover to ye enclosed, and to assure y^r Ex^cy of my being ever wth esteeme

"My Lord

"Your Ex^cys

"Most humble and faithful servant,

"J. WILLIAMSON.

"Ld Amb^r Jenkins."

—Harleian MS. 1522, fo. 146.

According to these documents, the king returned from Newmarket to London on Saturday the 15th of April and attended a Foreign Committee on Sunday the 16th at Whitehall.—Same to same, *ibid.*, fo. 170.

† State Papers, Dom., Charles II., 1675-6 (March), bundle 216, No. 232.

likely to depart, a movement many were anxious for, most people being of the opinion that under the circumstances they "left a very good town when they came from London." The next day Lord Arlington writes from Euston that the news from Newmarket only related to the northerly wind and the want of rain, which made the country thereabouts less pleasant than was to be desired. The king and the Duke of York managed to make the most of so unpleasant a situation by being "early abroad," and visiting and dining with the local celebrities. Many of the Privy Councillors were at Newmarket, which, in the opinion of Mr. Coventry, "was not a clime for such congregations," particularly as no council was held, although some important affairs of state urgently required attention at the hand of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, who, however, did nothing.

On the 8th a change in the weather took place. The king went to Euston for a short visit. The following Friday "was appointed for his remove from hence to the Duke of Albemarle's house and from thence on Monday following to London, but whether the raine wee now have may not invite his Maj^ty^ to a longer Stay," was more than our informant could decide.* Up to the 18th there is very little information of the doings at Newmarket. No state business was transacted; that was deferred until the return of the court to Whitehall. There was no time for business. "We have been almost all day morning and afternoon in the field & his Maj^ty^ is at this time at

* H. Thynne to Mr. Secretary Williamson. *Ibid.*

the Cock-pit by candle light; and so farewell Newmarkett." *

From the Verny Papers it appears that Sir Robert Howard ran his son's "nag," against one of Mr. Frampton's horses for £1000. The latter had a match "at Salisbury next Saturday for £1000 with another gentleman." Lord Montague challenged the king to run every horse in his stable with his majesty's, whereupon the king sent the Duke of Monmouth to his lordship accepting the challenge, "and commanded him to be there with his horses." † (Salisbury.)

The expenses of the diet of the king in his journey from Whitehall to Newmarket and back in the months of March and April, 1676, is set down at £763 15*s.* 2*d.*‡

It seems the king paid an informal visit to Newmarket in July, 1676, and if we can rely on the subjoined extract it appears the royal visit extended over twenty days :— Charles II. 1676. Newmarket. July.

To John Chase, Esqr Apothecary in Ordinary to his Ma^ts Person by warr^t dated the second of Augt 1677, for riding Charges and other expencis attending his Ma^ts at Newmarkett xx^ty days ended the xv^th of July 1676, at xv^s ℔ diem etc. (Rot. 108)—A.O.R., D.C., T.C.

The October meeting at Newmarket was patronized by royalty, and was well attended by the nobility and gentry. Some of the royal visitors arrived towards

* Mr. Secretary Coventry to Mr. Secretary Williamson, Newmarkett, Aprill 13th, 9 o'clock at night. State Papers, Dom., bundle 217, No. 107.

† Hist. MS., Coss., vol. vii.

‡ Cofferer's Accts., series i. and ii. Rot. *s.d.*

Charles II. 1676. Newmarket. September—October.

the end of September, as on the 20th of that month we find the queen sojourning at Euston, and "pleased with her entertainment, the very fair weather contributing much to her satisfaction." The king, seemingly, was playing the truant, and nothing definite appears to be known of his movements until October 2nd,* when Lord Arlington, in a despatch to Williamson, mentioned that his majesty was expected to arrive at Newmarket on Wednesday, where he intended to wait upon him, "but now," he adds, "I am too old a man, and cannot well lye from home." He requests the "newspapers" to be sent to him to Euston, after the king and Duke of York had seen them, an arrangement that was duly observed. In that respect he was more fortunate than we have been; no newspapers, except the Gazette, of this date, being available for consultation. Writing on the 7th, Secretary Coventry announces the arrival of the king and the Duke of York.† His majesty was in good health, but very indignant about the circulation of false reports relating to the naval expedition to Algiers. Three days later Sir Robert Carr regrets to be deprived of Williamson's company, and

* Lord Danby, writing from Wytham, Sept. 21, 1676, to Lord Conway, says: "I go this night to Rycott and from thence on Monday to London from whence for anything I yett know I shall attend his Matie to Newmarket the 2d of October. I hope the divertion of that place may invite you thither."—State Papers, Dom., May–Oct., 1676, No. 49.

† Secretary Williamson writing from Whitehall, October 6, 1676, to H. E. Sir William Temple, says, "His Ma^ty^ being gone to Newmarkett for some time, and being attended by most of my Lords of ye Foreign Committee, will be an occasion possibly of my running more in arrear to you than otherwise I would doe, for this next fortnight wch you will therefore please in ye case to forgive."—Harleian MS., 1523, fo. 132.

conveys the important intelligence that "his landlady keeps her house empty in expectation of his coming," adding that there were "plenty of new tricks, but as yet little sport which begins that afternoon." Reference to the nature of the sport at this meeting is almost *nil.* On the 17th Mr. Justice Windham, in a letter to Williamson, mentions having returned from Euston to Newmarket with the king, "who now begins to be weary of this place and the divertions it affords, and hath declared his intention of returning to London on Thursday next. . . . I shall not now trouble you wth an account of the business of this place, but reserve it to entertain you wth when I waite on you about the parke, and leaste should be like my Lord Craven, I shall take my leave &c." *

The precise date of the king's return to London is doubtful. At any rate he was at Newmarket in the following month, when the matches to come off during the ensuing spring were arranged. November.

Edward Verney, writing to his brother, Sir Ralph Verney, from Newmarket, November 23rd, says: "Hay is 1*s.* 6*d.* the truss and 56*s.* the load. . . . On Tuesday the king and the jockeys met at supper at Ned Griffin's,† where were made 6 horse matches for £500 a match to be run at Newmarket next meeting." ‡

The expenses of the king during this visit to Newmarket are returned in the Cofferer's Account at

* State Papers, Dom., bundle, 222, No. 144–178.

† In 1688 Edward Griffin was created Baron Griffin of Braybrooke Castle, county Northampton.

‡ Historical MS., Coss., Report vii.

£694 3s. 4½d., while the cost of the queen's journey from Whitehall to Audley End and Euston in the month of September was £207 13s. 1½d.

Charles II. 1676. Newmarket.

As appears from the subjoined memorandum some extensions to the Royal Palace at Newmarket were about to to be undertaken at this date.

"Minutes for the War^t^ for the Ground att New-Markett for ye Workes.

"His Ma^ty^ hath bin pleased to grant the plott of Ground formerly used for the service of ye Workes to Thomas Elliott Esq.

"It appearing needfull for his Ma^ts^ service, that some other parcell of Ground should be appointed for the service of his Ma^ts^ Workes,

"His Ma^ty^ is pleased

"That a piece or parcell of a ground called the King's Close shall be sett out for ye s^d^ service at New-Markett at ye North West Corner of ye s^d^ Close according to ye plott annexed conteyning in length 200 ft. & in breadth 46 ft. abutting upon Saxon lane towards ye West & upon part of ye Slaughter house & the Church yard towards the North.

"The Surv^r^ and Officers of ye Works to have authority to inclose ye s^d^ ground and thereon to build such roomes, work, houses & shedds as shall be fitt & needfull for the s^d^ service."—State Papers, Dom., Charles II., bundle 224[380], November 18, 1676, No. 123.

"Endorsed: *Concerning y ground att Newmarkett* for y^e^ *Workes. Recv^d^ from Mr Packer Novr 18th 76.*

To Luke Hemyngs and Thomas Bargett two of ye Vnder marshalls for their riding charges & other expences in their Attendance on his Matie at Newmarkett xx dayes from ye ij^d^ to ye xxj^th^ of Octobr. 1676 by warr^t^ etc . . . x^li^. (Rot. 105.)

To Jervice Price Esqr Gent^l^ of ye Bowes to his Matie for his Attendance vpon his Matie with his Guns at Newmarket xxix^e^ daies, between the xxvij^th^ of March 1676 & ye xxj^th^ of October 1676 at xv^s^ ℔ diem, As by two bills & ij^o^ like warr^t^ therevpon dated the first of June 1676 & y^e^ viij^th^ of Novb^r^ 1676 . . . xxix^li^ v^s^. A.O.R. (*Ibid.*)

To Willm. Smith one of the messengers of his Ma^ts^ Chamber, for service by him done in going from Newmarket for Players being $\overset{xx}{}$iiij mile at vj^c^ ℔ mile & viij Stages at ij^s^ the Stage and x^s^ ℔ diem; & going to Euston xxxvj miles at vj^c^ ℔ mile, & x^s^ ℔ diem by bill & warr^t^ therevpon dated the xxv^th^ of Novr 1676 . . . v^li^ iiij^s^. (*Ibid.*)

To John Chase, Esqr, Apothecary in Ordinary to his Ma^ts^ Person by warr^t^ dated the second of August 1677 for his riding Charges and other expencis attending his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett xx^th^ days ended the xxi^st^ of Oct. 1676 etc. (Rot. 108.)

To William Cotton, Gentleman Harbinger, and Jacob Withers, Thomas Wetherell, Nathaniell Cotton, and Willm Quarles, Yeomen Harbingers, by warr^t^ dated the second of Aprill 1677 with their bills annexed for attending his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett xxvj^x^ days from the xxvj^th^ of September 1676 to the xxj^th^ of October following at ix^s^ ℔ diem to the Gentlemen Harbingers, and v^s^ ℔ diem to each Yeoman Harbinger . . . xxxvj^li^ xiiij^s^. (Rot. 108. Several similar charges relating to the royal visit to Newmarket ensue, but as the precise date is not given the items may not refer to this meeting.) **1676.**

To James Elliott and John Louther* Esq^rs^ Groomes of his Maties Privy Chamber by Warr^t^ dated the viij^th^ of July 1676, for their lodgeing out of Court attending his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett iij^e^ weeks from ye xxvij^th^ of **1676. April.**

* Afterwards Lo^rd^ Lonsdale.

March to the xvij^th^ of Aprill 1676 at the rate of xx^s^ ꝑ^d^ weeke . . . iij^li^. (Rot. 108.)

To Richard le Bas, Marshall of the Ceremonies to his Ma^ts^ by warr^t^ dated ye xviij^th^ of July 1676 ffor attending on Embassdors and fforeigne Ministers of State to the severall Audiences of the King Queen Duke and Duchesses and severall other Occasions at Newmarkett xix^ti^ days at xiij^s^ iiij^d^ each attendance ꝑ^d^ diem and other Charges of Coach hire &^c^ as by his bill &^c^ . . . Cxviij^li^ x^s^. (*Ibid.*)

To Harry Brockwell, Keeper of his Ma^ts^ Instruments for a Base Violin by him bought & for mending ye Instruments since 1675 for removing ye Instruments from London to Windsor & Newmarket & back againe and for strings for himself for iij^ore^ yeares from Michās 1676 by warr^t^ dated ye xij^th^ of December 1676 . . . xxv^li^. (Rot. 105.)

1673-1676.

To Thomas Stevens, Marshall Farrier to His Ma^ts^ Hunting Horses & Padhorses at London, Hampton Court & Newmarket for medicining, blooding and drenching the said Horses for the space of a whole year ended the last of March 1676 according to a bill of ꝑticulars examined and attested by the Equerries together with a warr^t^ therevpon signed by his Grace the Duke of Monmouth then M^r^ of his Ma^ts^ Horses dated the iij^rd^ of May 1676 as by the said Bill and warr^t^ together with the Acquitt̃ce of ye said Thomas Stevens may appear and here allowed by vertue of the said Instructions vnd^r^ the Great Seale of England before menc̃oned ; The Sume of . . . lx^li^. (*Ibid.*)

To Sr Charles Scarburgh, Phisician in Ordinary to his Ma^ts^ ꝑson for his riding charges & other expences for himselfe his men & horses in his Attendance vpon his Matie at Newmarket by the space of lvj daies ended the xv^th^ of April 1676 at the rate of xxv^s^ a day, by one bill and a warr^t^ therevpon dated the xv^th^ of May 1676 . . . lxxj^li^ v^s^.

To James Pearce Esqr, Chirurgion in Ordinary to his Ma^ts^ Household for his riding charges & other Expences in his Attendance vpon his Matie by the space of Cix ^daies^ at xv ꝑ^d^ diem ended the xj^th^ of Sept 1675 at Windsor & Newmarket as by bills and warrants &^c^ iiij^xx^ j^li^ xv^s^.

To Jn° Chase, Esqr his Ma^ts Apothecary in Ordinary for his Travelling charges & expences in his attendance vpon his Matie at Windsor & Newmarkett $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ x^tie daies ended the xj^th of Septr 1675 at xv^s ℔ diem, as by bills and warrants etc. . . . lxvij^li x^s.

To Sackvile Whittle, Chirurgion in Ordinary to his Ma^ts Person for his like Charges in his attendance vpon his Matie at Windsor & Newmarket by the space of Cx^ti daies ended the xj^th of Septr 1675 by bill and warrant etc. . . . $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ ij^li x^s. (Rot. 105.)

To Wm Cotton Gentl. Harbinger, Jacob Withers Th^os Wetherell, Nathan Cotton, & Michael Babington, deputy for Wm Quarles, Yeoman & Roger Gibbs Assistand, for their Attendance vpon His Maties service at Newmarket from y^e xviij^th of March 1675 to y^e xvij^th of Aprill 1676, by warr^t etc. . . . lij^li. (Rot. 105.)

To Thomas Fordham, Yeoman of His Ma^ts Bowes for his attendance vpon his Matie at Windsor & Newmarket Cxviij^ti daies between the first of Augt 1674 & the xv^th of April 1676 at ye rate of v^s ℔ diem by iij^ee warr^tes dated etc. . . . xxix^li. (Rot. 105.) 1674-1676.

We have met with no reference to the spring meeting at Newmarket of 1677 beyond a mere statement in a letter from Mr. Proger to Secretary Williamson, dated Newmarket, April 26th, that the king was in good health and contemplated to return to London "on Monday."* The ordinary expenses of the royal sojourn came to £761 6*s.* 11¼*d.*† Charles II. 1677. Newmarket. April.

Lord Hatton,[199] writing from London, February 22nd, 1676–7, to Sir William Dugdale, says: "We are making what hast we can now to dispatch our bills.

* State Papers, Dom., No. 201. † Cofferer's Accs., Rot. *s. d.*

The House of Comons sitt morning and afternoon, and are att this time sitting upon the money bill; but wth all the hast that can be made there is noe probabillity of ending this Sessions before Easter, but it is thought they will then adjourn to ten days, while the King goes to Newmarkett, and soe meet again after his returne."

[199] Christopher, 2nd Lord Hatton. He was the son of Dugdale's first great patron, and appears to have been equally his friend.

Charles II. Newmarket. Palace. 1677.

About this time Mrs. Elizabeth Elliot was appointed custodian of Newmarket Palace, with a salary of £200 per annum, as set forth in detail in the subjoined transcript of the original patent:—

"Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland defender of the Faith &c. To all to whome these p^rsents shall come Greeting KNOW YE that we of our especiall grace certain knowledge and meere moc̃on And for divers other good Causes and consicrac̃ons us therevnto specially moveing HAVE given and granted and by these p^rsents for us o^r heires and successo^rs doe give and grant vnto o^r wel-beloved subject Elizabeth Elliot widdow the office or place of Housekeeper of o^r house att Newmarkett in our County of Cambridge wch said office was lately held and enioyed by Thomas Elliot Esquire deceased late husband to the said Elizabeth And her the said Elizabeth Elliott o^r Housekeeper of o^r said house att Newmarkett aforesaid we doe make ordaine and appoint by these p^rsnts TO HAVE HOLD Exercise and enioye the said office or place aforesaid vnto the said Elizabeth Elliott by her sufficient deputie or deputies during the Terme of her naturall life

together with all profitts comodites p'quisits emoluments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said office belonging or with the same att time or times heretofore vsually had received taken or eionyed and in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes as the said Thomas Elliott or any other person or persons whatsoever have held or enioyed or might or ought to have had held or enioyed the same AND FURTHER of o^r^ more ample grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on we have given and granted And by these p^r^sents for us our heires & successors Doe give and grant vnto the said Elizabeth Elliott for her paines and Charges in keeping of o^r^ said House and in ayreing the Roomes and household stuff thereof the wages and fee of two hundred poundes by the yeare. TO HAVE and yearely to receive and perceive the said fee of two hundred pounds by the year vnto her the said Elizabeth Elliott or her assignes for & during the naturall life of her the said Elizabeth Elliott out of the Treasurie of us o^r^ heires and successors att the Receipt of the Excheq^r^ of vs o^r^ heires and successors by the hands of the Treasurer Chancellor Undertras^rs^ and other officers of Excheq^r^ of vs o^r^ heires & successors for the time being att the foure most vsual Feasts or termes in the yeare (that is to say) At the Feast of the Nativity of St John Baptsist St Michael the Archangell the Birth of o^r^ Lord God and the Annunciac̃on of the blessed virgin Mary by even and equall porc̃ons The first payment thereof to bee made at the Feast of St Michaell the Archangell last past before the date of these presents WHEREFORE o^r^ will and pleasure is & wee doe hereby for vs o^r^ heires and successors authorize require & Command the Trear^s^ Commissio^rs^ of the Treasury Chancellor Under Treas^rs^ Chamberlaynes & Barons and all other the officers and Ministers whatsoever of the Excheq^r^ of Vs o^r^ heires & successors and of the Receipt thereof for the time being to whome it shall or may appertaine to pay and deliver or Cause to bee paid and delivered and to give full allowance from time to time of the said wages or Fee of two hundred pounds ꝑ ann̄, Vnto the said Elizabeth Elliott and her assignes for & during her naturall life according to the

purport and true meaning of these p'sents and that without any Accompt, Imprest or other Charge whatsoever to be set vpon her the said Elizabeth Elliott or her assignes for the same And these o^r Lres patente or the Inrollment thereof shall vnto all & every the said respective officers of the Exchequ^r of Vs o^r heires and successors for makeing due payment & allowaunce of the said yeare by Fee of two hundred pounds in manner & forme as above is menco'ned a good & sufficient warrant & discharge In Witness whereof we have caused these o^r letters to be made patente Witness o^r selfe att Westminster the second day of October in the nine and twentieth yeare of o^r Raigne.

"By writt of Privy Seale.

"Pigott." *

The king attended the Newmarket October meeting. The particulars of the races are most meagre.

Charles II. 1677. Newmarket. September—October.

In a letter dated September 26th, Secretary Coventry writes to Williamson: "I need not write you news from hence for you know what we are doing as well as we here. Sir Robert Carr lost one of his eight horse matches, and this morning we killed wth the K^gs begles three hares. All Campgnes prove not so bloody." † On the 30th Samuel Pepys arrived at Newmarket to consult the

* MS. Patent Book, 1677 & 1679, vol. xxiii., No. 8, p. 26, P.R.O.

† Secretary Williamson, in a despatch dated Whitehall, September 28, 1677, to H. E. Sir Lionell Jenkens, complains that he was unable to answer despatches relating to the negotiations at Nimeguen in consequence of the king being with most of the lords at Newmarket.—Harl. MS., 1523, fo. 230.

"The King had advice at Newmarket, of the fifth-monarchy-men's design to murder him, and the Duke of York, there or at London, on the Lord-Mayor's day, in a balcony; and the prince of Orange on his way from Harwich. But the design was laid aside, because they were not enough prepared. The Duke of York, at the same time, had the like advice."—Macpherson, Original Papers, vol. i. p. 84.

king upon naval affairs.* Wyndham mentions, in a letter to Williamson, dated October 3rd, that "Joe hath wonne his match although there was two to one against him. Wee pass the tyme in hawking and hunting."† This royal visit cost the king £370 4*s.* 3½*d.* in September, £661 2*s.* 0½*d.* in October, while the "extraordinary" expenses of the stables came to £1134 11*s.* 5*d.*‡

1677. Newmarket. October.

During this meeting at the headquarters of the Turf, the marriage of William, Prince of Orange, and the Princess Mary of York, was finally arranged. This alliance had been rejected in 1674, when, however, the prince very unceremoniously refused the hand of the princess. But succeeding events had taught him to lament his imprudence. All the flattering predictions of his advisers were, during the interval, falsified; and he discovered that he had given offence to the only potentate who could enable him either to conclude an honourable peace with France, or to continue the war in which he was engaged with any prospect of success. Convinced that it was his interest to seek a reconciliation, he began, in the first place, by cultivating the friendship of the favourite minister, the Lord Treasurer; in the next, he condescended to solicit that union which he had previously rejected; and, alarmed at the coolness with which the proposal was received, requested permission to come to England, that he might apologize for his past conduct, and explain his views for the future.

* State Papers, Dom., bundle 394, No. 170, 198.
† *Ibid.*, bundle 395, No. 17.
‡ Cofferer's Accs., Rot. *s. d.* (in both series).

The king, partly through a feeling of resentment, partly through jealousy of his connection with the popular leaders, affected to hesitate; and, when he gave his consent, made it an express condition that William should leave England before the meeting of Parliament. At the close of the campaign he joined his two uncles at Newmarket. The Lord Treasurer, and Sir R. Temple, who was returned from the embassy, were devoted to his interest; and their united efforts extorted from the easy monarch his consent to the immediate solemnization of the marriage, though he had previously arranged with the Duke of York that it should only follow the acquiescence of the prince in their views with respect to the peace of the continent. The duke was surprised and mortified; but deeming it his duty to submit to the will of the sovereign, he accompanied his brother to the council-chamber, where the king announced to the lords that he had concluded a marriage between his nephew, the Prince of Orange, and his niece, the Princess Mary, for the purpose of uniting the different branches of his family, and of proving to his people the interest he took in the security of their religion.*

Miss Strickland supplies the following description of the royal nuptial negotiations at Newmarket: "The campaign of 1677 being concluded the Orange hero having nothing better to do, condescended to go in person to seek the hand of one of the finest girls in Europe, and the presumptive heiress of Great Britain. For this purpose he set sail from Holland, arrived at

* Lingard, vol. ix., p. 317.

Harwich, after a stormy passage, October $\frac{8}{18}$th of the same year. Having disposed himself to act the wooer, 'He came,' says Sir William Temple, 'like a trusty lover, post from Harwich to Newmarket, where his uncles, Charles II. and James, Duke of York, were enjoying the October meeting.' Charles was residing in a shabby Palace there, to which his nephew instantly repaired; Lord Arlington, the Prime-minister, waited on him at the alighting. 'My Lord Treasurer Danby and I,' continues Sir William Temple, 'went together to wait on the Prince, but met him on the middle of the stairs, involved in a great crowd, coming *down* to the king. He whispered to us both "that he desired me to *answer for him*,* and for my Lord Treasurer Danby, so that they might from that time enter into business and conversation, as if they were of longer acquaintance;" which was a wise strain considering his lordship's credit at court at that time. It much shocked my Lord Arlington.' This means that William demanded of Temple an introduction to Danby, with whom he was not personally acquainted; but with such kindred souls a deep and lasting intimacy was soon established. The Prince of Orange was very kindly received by King Charles and the Duke of York, who both strove to enter into discussions of business, which they were surprized and diverted to observe how dexterously he avoided. 'So King Charles,' says Temple, 'bade me to find out the reason of it.' The Prince of Orange told me 'he was resolved

* This seems a technical term for "introduction," being a sort of warranty that the person introduced was "good man and true."

to see the young Princess before he entered into affairs, and to proceed in that before the other affairs of the Peace.' The fact was, he did not mean to make peace, but to play the impassioned lover as well as he could, and obtain her from the good nature of his uncle Charles, and then trust to his alliance with the Protestant heiress of England to force the continuation of the war with France. He could not affect being in love with his cousin when before he saw her, and for this happiness he showed so much impatience, that his uncle Charles said (laughing, like a good-for-nothing person as he was, at delicacy which would have been most respectable if it had been real), 'he supposed his whims must be honoured;' and leaving Newmarket some days before his inclination, he escorted George to Whitehall, and presented him as a suitor to his neice."*

The Prince of Orange wrote from Newmarket to the States General announcing his approaching marriage with the Princess Mary. The letter is in High Dutch, and preserved in Harl. MS. 1516, fo. 222. The royal marriage festivities were kept up for a week, during which time every "honest" person at the court was in a chronic state of intoxication.—See Harl. MS. 1523, vol. x., fo. 242.

Newmarket. 1677. The Palace.

During the year 1676–1677 the sum of £94 3*s.* 6*d.* was paid on account of work and buildings some time previously done at Newmarket Palace: £24 2*s.* 2*d.* having been paid for timber, boards, and planks; £1 3*s.* for laths, lime,

* Hist. Queens of Eng., vol. vi., p. 34.

hair, and sand; £1 1*s.* 8*d.* for ironwork; £12 4*s.* 9½*d.* for ironmonger's wares; and £13 9*s.* 1½*d.* for glass and glazing work. The wages and entertainments were as follows: carpenters at 3*s.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 2*s.* per day, £20 17*s.* 7*d.*; bricklayers at 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* per day, £4 5*s.*; labourers at 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* per day, £1 8*s.*; and to John Bennet, clerk of the works, at 1*s.* 9*d.* per day for 52 days, "which togeather with x^d^ by him laid out for £res. [letters] amounts to $\overset{xx}{\text{iiijxj}}^{s}$ 10^d^" * [£4 11*s.* 10*d.*].

About the same date the sum of £114 11*s.* 8*d.* was laid out on the royal stables at Newmarket:—

"Also the said Accomptant is herein allowed the Money by him paid to Henry Blowes Carpenter for Work done at Newmarket for paleing in the Ram Close and for making Shutters, Bedsteads and doing other Workes at the Stables there according to an Acco^t^ Signed by the late Duke of Monmouth then Master of the Horse the xxvij^th^ of October 1677, which together with the other Accompts of this Accomptant were referred by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to the Officers of the Works the xj^th^ of November 1678, and the said Officers by their Report of the xxiij^th^ of December following certified the same to be rightly stated and thereupon the Auditors were directed by an Order of the said Lords Commissioners of the Treasury dated the xxiiij^th^ of August 1699 to prepare the said Accompts for declaration As by the said Accompt Report and Order and the said Henry Blowers Acquittances in the Office of the Workes for the Money may appeare the Su^me^ of Cxiiij^li^ xj^s^ viij^d^."—L. T. R. Works and Buildings, 1685–1686, No. 266.

To John Chace, Esqr, Apothecary in Ordinary to His Ma^ts^ Person by warr^t^ dated the second of August 1677 for his riding Charges and other expencis 1677. April.

* L.T.R. Works and Buildings, No. 95.

attending his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett xv^li^ days ended the xxx^th^ of Aprill 1677 at xv^s^ ℔ diem . . . xxj^li^ v^s^. A.O.R. (Rot. 108.)

To Sackville Whittle, Esqr, Chirurgeon in Ordinary to His Ma^ts^ Person, by warr^t^ dated the xix^th^ of June 1677 for the like charges in attending on his Ma^ty^ at Newmarkett and Audley Inne xl^ty^ days at the same rate abovesaid . . . xxx^li^.

To Jervice Price, Gentleman of the Bowes by warrant dated the xij^th^ of May 1677 for like charges and expencis in attending on his Ma^ts^ at Newmarkett with his Bowes xv^li^ days at xv^s^ per diem . . . xj^li^ v^s^. More to him for the same service at Newmarkett xx^ty^ days by warr^t^ dated the xth of December 1677 at the same rate . . . xv^li^.

To Thomas Fordham, Yeoman of the Bowes in Ordinary to his Ma^ty^ by warr^t^ dated the xix^th^ of June 1677 for his like Charges in attending on His Ma^ty^ with his Gunnes at Newmarkett xxxiiij days at v^s^ ℔ diem . . . viij^li^ x^s^. (*Ibid.*)

To Maurice Wynne, Esqr, one of the Groomes of ye Privy Chamber to ye King's Matie for ye Lodging of himselfe & James Elliott late another of ye said Gromes at Newmarket for iij^ce^ weekes ended ye xv^th^ of October 1677 by warr^t^ dated the vj^th^ of December 1677 . . . iij^li^. (Rot. 111.)

1677. October.

To Philip Walker & Patricke Jacke two of his Ma^ts^ Porters at his Gate, by warr^t^ signed by the Privy Councill dated the xviij^th^ of July 1678 with theire bills annexed for theire attendance on the Prince of Aurange at Newmark^t^ and Whitehall xlj days from the xth of October to the xix^th^ of November 1677 at iiij^s^ iiij^d^ ℔ diem, each, and for their attendance on the French Ambassador at Lady Williams iiij^r^ days from the xxvij^th^ to the xxx^th^ of November 1677 . . . xv^li^. (Rot. 108.)

To Thomas Johnson, Gentl. Sewer of his Maties Chamber by warrant dated the xviij^th^ of December 1677 with his bill annexed for himselfe and one of his ffellows attending on ye Prince of Aurange and his Retinue xxj^ty^ days at Newmarkett in September and October 1677 and for theire mens charges . . . x^li^ x^s^.

To Randolph Sparrow one of the Grooms of ye Greate Chamber to His Matie for his riding charges & Expences in his attendance vpon his Matie att Newmarkett by ye space of lxxvij^n^ daies in the yeares 1676 and 1677 at v^s^ a day by warr^t^ dated the xxiij^th^ of Decr 1678 . . . xix^ll^ v^s^. (*Ibid.*) 1676–1677.

We have been unable to discover any information relating to the races at Newmarket spring meeting in 1678. Political and other important affairs kept the king in London, therefore it is probable many of the usual surroundings were wanting on this occasion. It appears, however, that the cockers and highwaymen were kept busy. Charles II. 1678. April.

"These are to give Notice, that there will be two great Matches of Cocking fought in His Majesties Cock-Pit at *New-Market*, the one in *Easter* week,* next, and the other in the week following; and all Gentlemen concerned therein, are desired to send their Cocks accordingly. The Grand Match will be in the week after *Easter*." †—"The London Gazette," $\frac{\text{February } 28}{\text{March } 4}$ 1677–8, No. 1282. *Ibid.*, No. 1283.

"*John Todd* was Robbed by three Highway-men between *Kentford* and *Newmarket* in the county of *Cambridge*, on the 23d day of *April* last, of a black pacing Gelding, shod of his hinder feet with interfering shoes. The one a lusty portly man, with a coloured caster hat, mounted on a bay Gelding, about 14 hands, his hinder-feet white. The second a lusty young man, apparelled in black, with a light coloured riding Coat, a brown Periwig, mounted upon a brown silver haired Gelding, a white star on his forehead. The third a low thick man with a new gray cloath Coat, his

* Easter Sunday fell on March 31st, 1678.

† The State Papers contain no reference to this meeting. The Cofferer's Accounts for 1678–79 are not extant.

hair brown, mounted on a black Gelding, with some silver hairs on his forehead. Whosoever can discover the aforesaid persons, or give information of the Gelding taken away, let them repair to Mr. *John Todd* Haberdasher of Hats in *St. Edmondsbury*, or Mr. *Gervase Locks* Haberdasher of Hats upon *London-bridge*, [by whom they] shall be well rewarded."—The "London Gazette," May $\frac{6}{13}$, 1678, No. 1301.

October. The October meeting proved to be a right royal one, as it was attended by the king and court, and extended over a couple of weeks. The Prince of Orange was expected, but it is doubtful whether he attended this *réunion* at head-quarters or not. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Arlington, and all the principal ministers of the state and the household assembled in force. Many of the committees were also at Newmarket, although they might as well have remained in London for all the business that was transacted by them. But the post that went every night from London to Newmarket "during his Majesty's being there" brought down many letters and despatches if it brought back few answers. The murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the popish plot, the negotiations at Nimeguen, and minor domestic affairs are mentioned in connection with this meeting at Newmarket in the State Papers, and the contemporary literature of the time, although we cannot find a single reference or allusion to the races.*

* State Papers, Dom., Charles II., bundle 249, *passim*. The "London Gazette," *sub dato*. Harleian MS., 1523.

Mr. Secretary Williamson,[200] to H. E. the Lord Ambassador Sir Lionel Jenkins at Nimeguen.

"Newmarkett Oct. 7th 1678.

"My Lord Amb^r

"My last was of ye first of this month, & was last att my parting for this place, to you by ye ord^ry of ye next day. The Lords of ye Councill continue from day to day wholly taken up wth ye Enquiry into ye truth & extent of ye horrid Plott informed of, wch God-Allmighty give them y^t successe in y^t all of us are bound to wish. In this absence of ye Court from London, you must please to give us credit for all ye matters y^t depend, or y^t may arise remating to your Comiss^n in y^t Place, there having been no opportunity for ye Forreigne Comittee to meet upon any business since y^t last I wrote you, nor is there any likelyhood they can, till ye King's returne to London, wch is expected will be towards ye middle of ye next weeke.

"I am ever,

"My Lord Amb^r,

"Your most humble and faithful Servt.,

"J. Williamson." *

On the 14th the secretary wrote from Newmarket to the ambassador, stating that he had received no letters from him, and even if it had been otherwise, "this, you know," he adds, "is not a place for business."—Harl. MS., 1523, fo. 330.

[200] Sir Joseph Williamson, the notable statesman, and benefactor of Queen's College, Oxford, was son of Joseph Williamson, vicar of Bridekirk, county Cumberland, from 1625 to 1634. He was educated at Westminster School and Queen's College, Oxford, of which he subsequently became a fellow, and it is said took deacon's orders. In 1657 he was created M.A., by diploma. Soon after the Restoration he was recommended to Sir Edward Nicholas, and his successor, Henry,

* This was Secretary Williamson's last official visit to Newmarket. He was succeeded by the Earl of Sunderland in February, 1679.

Earl of Arlington, principal Secretary of State, who appointed him clerk or keeper of the Paper-office at Whitehall, and employed him in translating and corresponding in French; and June 24, 1677, he was sworn one of the clerks of the council in ordinary, and knighted. He was Under-Secretary of State in 1665; about which time he procured for himself the writing of the "Oxford Gazettes," then newly set up. In 1678, 1679, 1698, and 1700 he represented the borough of Thetford in Parliament. In 1685, being then Recorder of Thetford, he was again elected, but Hevingham, the mayor, returned himself, and on petition it appeared that the right of election was in the select body of the corporation before the charter; and in 1690 he lost his election by a double return. At the short treaty of Cologne, Sir Joseph was one of the British plenipotentiaries with the Earl of Sunderland and Sir Leslie Jenkins, and at his return he was created LL.D., June 27, 1674, sworn Principal Secretary of State, September 11 of that year, on the promotion of the Earl of Arlington to the Chamberlainship of the Household, and a Privy Councillor. On November 18, 1678, he was committed to the Tower by the House of Commons, on charge of granting commissions and warrants to popish recusants; but he was the same day released by Charles II., notwithstanding an address from the House. He resigned his place of secretary February 9, 1678–9, and was succeeded by the Earl of Sunderland, who (if we may rely upon Rapin's History) gave him £6000 and 500 guineas to induce him to resign. In December that year, he married Lady Catherine Stewart, relict of Henry O'Brien, Lord Ibracken (son and heir-apparent of Henry, 7th Earl of Thomond, who died 1678), sister and sole heiress to Charles Stewart, 6th Duke of Lenox, 4th Earl of March, and 3rd Duke of Richmond, K.G., by which alliance Sir Joseph acquired large possessions in Kent and elsewhere, besides the hereditary stewardship of Greenwich. Some ascribe the loss of the secretary's place to this match, through the means of Lord Danby, who intended the lady for his son. She died in November, 1702. Sir Joseph was president of the Royal Society in 1678. His benefactions to Queen's

College, Oxford, in his lifetime and at his death were equivalent to £8000, besides giving to the library a valuable collection of manuscripts. He died in 1701, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The amount of money laid out on Newmarket Palace in repairs and alterations in the months of November, December, January, and February, 1677–78, was £152. **Charles II. Newmarket. 1678. The Palace.**

Among the materials used, the oak timber and deals cost £23 9*s.* 6*d.*; lead, solder, and casting old lead, £4 14*s.* 8¾*d.*; bricks, tiles, lime, and mortar, £6 8*s.* 5½*d.*; ironmongers' wares and smiths' work, £20 12*s.* 7½*d.*; flint stones, £2 8*s.* 0*d.*; sand and gravel, £8 12*s.* 0*d.*; and glass and glaziers' work, £18 6*s.* 2½*d.* The cost for land carriage was £2 12*s.* Carpenters', bricklayers', plumbers', and labourers' wages came to £31 11*s.* 6*d.* John Bennett, clerk of the works, at 1*s.* 1*d.* a day for seventy-nine days, "together with ij^{s} viij^{d} by him laid out for Broomes and a padlock," came to £7 0*s.* 11*d.* The taskwork included a payment for carpenter's work done in the stable, of £2 6*s.* 6*d.*; four pairs of window shutters cost £2 8*s.*; other items of a similar nature make up the sum total at foot of the account.*

To Sackville Whittle, Esqr Chirurgion in Ordinary to his Ma^{ts} Person for his riding charges and expences in his Attendance on his Matie at Windsor & Newmarkett by ye space of lxj daies in August, Septembr and October 1678 at xv^{s} ℔ diem by warr^{t} dated the xvjth of Decr 1678 . . . xlv^{li} xv^{s}. A.O.R. (Rot. 111.) **1678. October.**

To John Chase, Esqr Apothecary in Ordinary to his Ma^{ts}

* L.T.R. "Works and Buildings," No. 96, MS., P.R.O.

Person for his riding charges & expences in his Attendance on his Matie at Newmarket and Windsor by the space of iiij^or^ daies in the yeares 1677 & 1678 at xv^s^ a day by warr^t^ etc . . . lx^li^ xv^s^. (*Ibid.*)

To Thomas Donkly for washing surplices viij^li^ for Brooms, Rubbers, & Wipers for his Matie Closset viij^li^ for loading & unloading the things in his Charge at the times of Removing iiij^li^, for Holly and Ivy, Rosemary & Bayes for xiij^li^ weeks ended the second of February at v^s^ per week iij^li^ v^s^. For his Court Cloth and Livery iiij^li^ xij^s^ iiij^d^. And for lxxiiij^or^ daies Travelling Charges to Newmarkett and Windsor at v^s^ a day xviij^li^ x^s^. In all being due to him within ye Space of a Yeare ended at Michâs 1678, by warr^t^ dated the viij^th^ of November 1678 . . . xlvj^li^ viij^s^ iiij^d^. (Rot. 111.)

To Thomas Fordham yeoman of ye Bowes for his riding charges and expencis in his Attendance vpon his Matie with his Gunns at Windsor & Newmarkett lxj dayes at v^s^ ℔ diem . . . xv^li^ x^s^. (*Ibid.*)

Charles II. 1679. Newmarket. September—October.

In consequence of the king's illness, and the state of the political situation, it was doubtful whether the court would attend the Newmarket October meeting this year. The result is recorded in the subjoined extracts:—

Sidney Godolphin, writing from Windsor Castle, August 18, 1679, to his familiar friend, the Hon. Henry Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney), at this date Ambassador Extraordinary at the Hague, says: "The King talks of going to Newmarket the 18th or 20th of next month. The queen is to be there and all the court."*

* Blencowe; "Diary and Correspondence of the Times of Charles II.," by the Hon. Henry Sidney, vol. i., p. 96. The royal borough about this time was passing through one of the most exciting parliamentary elections of the period. Messrs. Powney and Carew, Yeoman prickers of the

"It is now almost a week since the King has had any appearance of ague; and you may guess by the methods he takes, he will soon recover his health, having exchanged water-gruels and potions for mutton and partridges, on which he feeds frequently and heartily; and whereas the general discourse of the Court about a week since was of his Majesty's speedy return to Whitehall, it's now a generally talk't of, and as generally believed, that he will take Newmarket in his way, having lately reassumed fresh resolutions of removing thither about the 18th of this month, and having likewise given order that all necessary preparations be made there to that purpose: this day his Majesty has been abroad, which is the first attempt he has made of that kind since his illness."—John Mountstevens to the Hon. Henry Sidney, Windsor, Aug. 29, 1679. Sidney, "Diary," vol. i., p. 99.

Newmarket. Charles II. 1679. September—October.

"*London*, Sept. 6. From *Windsor* we have daily Advice That His Majesty is every day sensibly better, being free from all Symptoms of his late Distemper. And it still continues, That His Majesty, as soon as it pleases God to restore a little more strength, intends to divert himself at *New-Market*, the Air of which place is the Opinion of most, will much conduce to His Majesty's health."—"The Domestick Intelligence, or News both from City and Country, published to prevent false reports," Sept. 8, 1679, No. 18.

"On Monday last in the Afternoon, His Majesty returned safely and in Health to *Whitehall* from *New-Market*, accompanied with the Queen, and attended by the Nobility and several persons of honour."—*Ibid.*, Oct. 17, No. 30.

"His Majesties design (as is reported) to return to *Whitehall* on *Monday* next: But the Physitians having advised that

royal buck-hounds, were put forward in support of the court party in opposition to Messrs. Winwood and Starkey, the sitting members. The royal candidates were returned by a considerable majority through the votes of the retainers and servants of the castle; but on a petition to the House of Commons the royal huntsmen were unseated, and the old members reinstated on the grounds that their opponents were informally returned "by the voices the King's servants, who have no pretence of voting there but as such."—*Ibid.*, p. 98.

the Air of *New-Market* is more suitable to his Constitution,* 'tis rather probable that His Majesty will divert himself for some time at that place."—*Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1679, No. 20.

"Wednesday wee expect his Majesty and all the court here, in order to theyr goeing to Newmarkett the next weeke, but if the weather continues soe wett as it is at present I believe the phesitians will disuade his Majesty from taking that journey."—H. Thynne to F. Parry, Whitehall, Sept. $\frac{15}{25}$, 1679. "The Arlington Letters," p. 65.

Lord Halifax, London, September 17, 1679, to the Hon. Henry Sidney: "The King seemeth inclined to go to Newmarket; his inclination is so strong for it, that it is an ill way of making one's court to dissuade him from it, though most wish he would stay in town for more reasons besides his health."—Sidney, "Diary and Correspondence," vol. i., p. 147.

1679. September—October.

"There was a Consultation held by the Kings Physitians, whether the Season of the yeare, and His Majesties late Indisposition, would be convenient for His Majesties intended Journey for *Newmarket;* and they did say, that the Season was too far advanced, that the Air was too Serene, so that then it was dubious whether he would go or no: But afterwards His Majesty resolved upon his Journey on this day, and the Carriages are already sent, and the Guards ordered to March beforehand to wait upon His Majesty thither in their several Posts, both Horse and Foot."—"The Domestick Intelligence," Sept. 26, No. 24.

"*These are to give Notice, That during the Courts being at* Newmarket, *a Post will go thither every day from the General Letter-Office in* London."—"The London Gazette," No. 1445, Sept. 22–25, 1679.

"Last Friday morning [Sept. 29] His Majesty and the whole Court went to *New-Market*, where it is said they intend

* The Countess of Manchester, in a letter to Lady Hatton, dated Sept. 8, 1679, says: "About the 15 or 16 of this moneth the Kinge speakes of Newmarkett. The docterrs are much against it, and if he goeth not thither, I believe will stay ye longer att Windsor."—"The Hatton Correspondence," vol. i., p. 193.

to continue about Twenty days."—"The Domestick Intelligence," Sept. 20, 1679, No. 25.

"From *New-Market*, we are certainly Informed that His Majesty continues in good health, notwithstanding some false Reports that have been lately spread abroad of a *Relapse*, whereas on the contrary his *Majesties* former Strength and Vigor Returns dayly. It is said his *Majesty* and the whole Court intend to return to *Whitehall* some day this week."—*Ibid.*, Oct. 7, No. 27.

"*Newmarket*, Oct. 7. His Majesty finding the Air to agree extremely well with Him, has declared His intention to continue here till *Monday* next when their Majesties will return to Town."—"The London Gazette," Oct. $\frac{6}{9}$, 1679, No. 1449.*

The works and buildings done and performed at Newmarket Palace, for the year 1678–1679, cost £195 2*s.* 6¾*d.* The cost of oak planks, rafters and deal boards was £21 3*s.* 9*d.*; lead and solder, £26 2*s.* 4½*d.*; ironmonger's wares, £4 17*s.* 8½*d.*; smith's work, 9*s.*; and glass and glazing, £14 14*s.* 8*d.* The wages of bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, labourers, and two clerks of the works, came to £30 15*s.* 4*d.* The piece-work included a payment of £67 12*s.* 10½*d.* to John Weeks, bricklayer, for ripping, lathing, and new building the stable and windows; who also received £14 12*s.* 2*d.* "for working up a new wall about the old Stable at the Talking House † by ye Stand from ye Foundacon to the Eaves (which was before a loame wall);" as well as a further sum of £1 13*s.* 8*d.* for 8 yards of clay for

Newmarket. 1679. The Palace.

* The court arrived at Whitehall from Newmarket on October 13.

† Qy. The subscription rooms of the period, or perhaps the ring.

12 feet of underpinning done in the wall next the stables; for mending the Duke of Monmouth's range in the kitchen; for work done in the king's kitchen & the top of the chimney. Edward Blowes, carpenter, received £8 14*s.* 6*d.* for boarding 20 stalls with oaken boards & mending the placks in the stables. John Nelson, painter, was paid £4 6*s.* 6½*d.* for painting the posts in the street before the king's garden, and 10 laterne windows and the cornishes of the roof of the king's stables.* According to another account a further sum of £195 2*s.* 6¾*d.* appears to have been laid out on other works and building in and about "the king's house at Newmarket" during this year.†

The ordinary expenses of the king and queen at Newmarket from the 1st to the 15th of October, 1679, amounted to £1081 14*s.* 5¾*d.*‡

Charles II. 1679. Newmarket.

"A Strawbery py'd Gelding, about 14 hands high, a short mane, and a bob tail, about 7 years old, all his paces, a stradling gate behind, taken from Mr. *Hugh Alsop* by three Highwaymen, upon *Newmarket Heath*, on Wednesday morning, being the 23rd of *April* last. Whosoever shall give notice of him to Mr. *Alsop* at the *Eagle and Child* in *Newmarket*, or to Mr. *Edward Cooke*, at the *Sun Tavern* behind the *Royal Exchange*, *London*, shall have Three pounds, besides his charges."—"The London Gazette," $\frac{\text{April } 28}{\text{May } 1}$, 1679, No. 1403.

To Jervis Price for his riding charges and Expencis in his Attendance vpon his Matie with his Guns at Newmarket xviij^n daies from y^e xxvj^th of September to y^e xiij^th of

* L.T.R. Works & Buildings, No. 97.
† *Ibid.*, No. 99, m. 2, 3.
‡ Cofferer's Accts., Rot. *s. d.* MS. P.R.O.

October 1679 at xv^{s} ℔ diem, by warr^{t} dated the xjth of Octbr. 1670. etc. A.O.R. (Rot. 117.) 1679.

To Thomas Fordham, Yeoman of the Bowes to October.
his Matie for his riding charges & other expences in his Attendance vpon his Matie with his Guns at Newmarket xviij^{n} daies from the xxvjth of September 1679 to ye xiijth of October 1679 at v^{s} ℔ diem by warr^{t} dated xiijth of December 1679 etc. (*Ibid.*)

When the Vice-chancellor and Heads of Cambridge University waited on the king at Newmarket, the following sums are mentioned as incidental to the occasion :

	£	s.	d.
For two fair Quarto Bibles for the two Clerks of the Kitchen	03	10	0
To the Gentleman Usher	03	00	0
To Mr. Dunkley that waited in the Closet	03	01	0
To the Sewer & to the Butler	02	03	0
To the Under Officers in the Kitchen	06	09	0
To the Officers of the Wine Seller	06	03	0
To the Porters	01	00	0
For 4 Coaches hired to carry the Doctors to Newmarket &^{c}	03	00	0

—Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," vol. iii., p. 589.

Prior to his departure for the spring meeting of 1680 the king had a merry time of it in the metropolis. On the 8th of March his majesty supped with the Lord Mayor in the Old Jury, when he was attended by the Duke of York and several of the nobility; "a great many Lights and Flambeaus being placed in the Balconies to lighten the Streets they passed, and the Trained-Bands, that had the Guard, making a Lane from *Cheapside* to his Lordship's house, where the Lord Mayor, accompanied with several of the Aldermen and the Sheriffs, re-

Charles II. 1680. Newmarket. March.

ceiving them at the Gate, amidst the Shouts of the people. The entertainment was very great and noble, there being several Tables in distinct Rooms.* At that prepared for the King and the Duke, his Majesty was pleased to command the Lady Mayoress, the Sheriffs Ladies, the Lord Mayor, and several of the Nobility, to sit down with Him, the Aldermen attending his Majesty, who, after Supper, was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon W. *Gulston*, Esq., a near Relation to the Lord Mayor. The King and the Duke (who were extremely pleased with their Entertainment and the whole Carriage of it), returning to *Whitehall*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs waited upon them thither, and the City Guards to the *Temple*, being followed with great numbers of people making loud Acclamations of long Life and Health to the King and the Duke, while others were demonstrating the same dutiful affections towards them by making Bonfires, and ringing of Bells." The following morning "between 4 and 5 o'clock His Majesty and his Royal Highness parted hence for *Newmarket*, as her Majesty likewise did about two hours after."

The Countess Dowager of Sunderland[201] writes as follows to her brother, H.E. the Hon. Henry Sidney, Ambassador Extraordinary at the Hague, under date of March 12, 1680:—

1680. Newmarket. March.

"This day my Lord Sunderland is gone to Althorpe, and Mr. Smith has left the mirth of

* "The London Gazette," No. 1493. It was at this carouse the Lord Mayor, when the king was about to leave, pulled his Majesty back to have "'tother bottle." The liberty the Merry Monarch took in good part, merely remarking that "he who is drunk is as great as a king."

Holland, where he was invited, to go with him. Mr. Godolphin goes to Newmarket, and receives all my son's packets; if there is any occasion for his being there, Godolphin will send for him—if not, he does not go. His Majesty and his City of London are upon very good terms. When he supped this week at the Mayor's, the people showed so much affection and duty as the expressions at such a time could be. The Lady Mayoress sat next to the King, all over scarlet and ermine, and half over diamonds. The Aldermen drank the King's health over and over upon their knees, and wished all hanged and damned that would not serve him with their lives and fortunes. They attended him to Whitehall at two o'clock in the morning; they would not trust him with his guards, who were all drunk, but brought some of their own, and they all went merry out of the King's cellar. The next day they came in full body to give both the King and Duke thanks for the honour they had done them. The Mayor is now as well affected as anybody, and was as ill."—Sidney, "Diary and Correspondence," vol. i., p. 301.

Let those who hold up the finger of reproof, with which they point to the naughtiness of Newmarket, ponder on and inwardly digest the scenes above described. If such a state of things was possible in the centre of civilization, and countenanced by the chief magistrate of the said centre of civilization, surely "the inosent disports" of Newmarket were not more noxious?

[201] Dorothy Sidney, dowager Countess of Sunderland,

was eldest daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and of Dorothy, the daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland. She married, first, Lord Spencer, afterwards created Earl of Sunderland, who was killed at the battle of Newbury, fighting gallantly on the king's side; they had three children, Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland, and two daughters, the eldest of whom was afterwards married to Lord Halifax. In 1652 Lady Sunderland was married a second time, to Sir Robert Smythe, by whom she had one son. She survived her second husband, and was buried in the vault of the Spencer family at Brignton, in 1684. She was the Saccharissa of Waller, and as such, will live for ever.

Charles II. 1680. March.

"*The Masters of His Majesties Cock-Pit do desire all Gentlemen that love that Game to send in their Cocks to the Pit at* New Market *in such seasonable time as that they may be fit to fight, they intending to begin the said Cock Match on the 15th day of March; and there shall be Feeders ready to take care of their Cocks.*"—(Official Accounts.) "The London Gazette," Feb. 5–9, 1679, No. 1484.

It seems a Racing Calendar was newly invented at Newmarket during this meeting:—

"This is to give notice, That at the Request of several Persons of Quality and others, Mr. *John Nelson* doth keep a Register at the Groom-Porters Office in *Newmarket*, of all such Horse-matches, Foot-matches, Cock-matches, or Bets relating to the premises, as any person therein concerned hath or shall desire him to Register, to avoid such differences as often arise by the loss of Articles and mistakes of Bets; As also for the Benefit of such as live far from *London*, and design to be at *Newmarket* Meetings, who may, by that means, know when the principal Matches are run. And if any person is desirous to have a Copy of the said Matches sent at any time to any part of *England*, he may either have them from the said Mr. *John Nelson*, at *Newmarket*, or upon writing to him thither a Letter left for him at the Groom-Porter's in *Whitehall*, with half a Crown for the Transcript, and the said Copy shall be sent according to the directions

of the party."—"The London Gazette," Feb. $\frac{12}{15}$, 1679, No. 1486.

"*Whitehall, March* 19. This Morning between four and five a Clock His Majesty and His Royal Highness parted hence for *Newmarket*, as Her Majesty likewise did about two houres after."—"The London Gazette," March 8–11, 1679, No. 2493.

"*We are desired to give Notice, That a Post will go every day to Newmarket, during the Courts being held there.*"—Ibid.

"*Whitehal, March* 24. On Monday in the afternoon his Royal Highness came from *Newmarket*. Yesterday morning the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs waited upon him at St. *James's*; & this morning the Duke returned to *Newmarket* to attend His Majesty during his stay there."—"The London Gazette," March $\frac{22}{25}$, 1680, No. 1497.

"*Whitehal, March* 31. This day their Majesties and his Royal Highness returned hither from *Newmarket*; and in the afternoon the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs of *London*, were to pay their Duty to His Majesty."—*Ibid.*, No. 1499.

"*London, March* 9. Seven of His Majesty's Waggons were sent from the *Tower* to *White-Hall*, being designed to carry the Kings Baggage to *Newmarket*, to which place their Majesties and his Royal Highness set forward tomorrow, where its said they will reside about a Month."—The "Current Intelligence," March $\frac{6}{9}$, No. 8.

"*Newmarket, March* 11. About 3 of the Clock yesterday in the afternoon his Majesty and Royal Highness arrived here from *London*, and about 6 her Majesty came thither also: both their Majesties are very well (thanks be to God), but his Royal Highness is a little lame, having rubb'd the skin off his Leg when he was on board the Yacht in his coming from Scotland."—*Ibid.*, No. 9.

"*Newmarket, the* 20. On the 18. Instant was a Race run for £100. between the Duke of *Albermarle* and Mr. *Osley* the six mile Course. Mr. Osley rid his own Gelding himself against the Dukes horse, which is called Tinker, there was

great odds against Mr. Osley, but he won the Race, his Majesty and his Royal Highness went on horse-back to see it run.

"Yesterday the Town plate was run for at the three mile Course, by three Lords and three Gentlemen: they all rid their own horses, Mr. Griffine won the Plate and presented it to the Town, who accepted it very kindly."—*Ibid.*, No. 12.

"*London, March* 22. This evening his Royal Highness returned from *Newmarket*."—*Ibid.*, No. 12.

"On *Wednesday* last His Royal Highness returned again to *Newmarket*, from whence the Queen is expected next *Thursday*, and his Majesty and the whole Court this day-senight."—*Ibid.*, No. 13.

"On the same day [March 27] the Privy Council was assembled about the Plot in *Ireland*, and after some debate thereupon, their Lordships sent an Express to his Majesty at *Newmarket* concerning the same; who returned with an answer, that his Majesty would be personally here on *Wednesday*, to have a hearing of the business himself."—*Ibid.*, No. 15.

"On *Wednesday* [March 31] his Majesty and his Royal Highness returned thither from *Newmarket*, and in the afternoon, the Aldermen and Sheriffs waited on his Majesty, to congratulate him upon his arrival."—*Ibid.*, No. 15.

"On the 22nd of March, the King was at Newmarket, and, the same day, the council met at Whitehall, on information that a great number of apprentices were inlisted by one Alford, under pretence of burning the rump. He was secured by the lord mayor, and committed by the council, for high treason, as he deserved, for offering to inlist men."—Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i., p. 103.

Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, writing from London, March 16, 1680, to H.E. the Hon. Henry Sidney, mentions that the spring meeting at head-quarters had emptied London: "When my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin are both out of town, I hope you will not be angery to hear a word from me, which is only to tell you that every body else is gone; and that I only, who have the reputation of a lazy and an idle man, to love London exceedingly, and to

hate to take pains, am left here. The King intends to make a long stay at Newmarket. The Duke [of York], they say, will be here on Saturday or Monday, only to see the Duchess, & returns again." *

On the morning of March 10, 1681, the king and the queen, accompanied by His Royal Highness the Duke of York and many of the nobility and gentry belonging to the Court, left London for Newmarket, where they intended "to divert themselves for some considerable time, with such Pastimes as the Place affords." A large concourse of noblemen and gentlemen had already reached Newmarket, "not only from London and the places adjacent, but likewise from many other places of the Kingdom," where all necessary conveniences were, it was reported, provided for their reception.

1680. Newmarket. March.

The races commenced on the 4th, when the four mile course for £100 was run between Shuffler and Mr. Griffin's Ball, each carrying about nine stone. "Shuffler reached first the Goal by 40 paces," and several other events had taken place, the particulars of which have not transpired.†

On the 12th, the news from Newmarket was to the effect that "His Majesty, accompanied with his Royal Highness, have been pleased to honour several of the gentry inhabiting thereabouts with his presence at their houses, who received his Majesty with all those dutiful respects that Loyal hearts could express;" the

* Sidney, "Diary and Correspondence," vol. ii., p. 7.

† "The Domestick Intelligence," $\frac{\text{March } 9}{\text{March } 12}$, 1679–80, No. 72.

people expressing abundant joy at the king's presence among them, which was to continue for some time longer. "His Majesty is pleased to divert himself with Hunting, Hawking, and other Recreations this noble place affords."

The knights of the road were having a good time of it during this meeting. Thus on March 9, "A Gentleman with some of his family being in a coach with six horses going to *Newmarket*, was set upon by some Highway-men, and robbed of all his Money, Watch, Rings, Stone Buttons, and a pair of Lac'd Sleeves. And about four hours after, two Coaches coming from *Cambridge*, the persons in them were robb'd of several hundred pounds; there were but five Highway-men, two of them setting upon one coach, and three on the other; but at their departure, they were so noble as to give the two coachmen (they were Hackney Coaches) two Half-crowns to drink their healths. The coaches were within a mile of *New-market* when they were robb'd, at a place called the *Devils Ditch*." *

On the 17th, the Earl of Sunderland arrived at Newmarket to attend on the king, who soon after returned to London to witness a foot-race between Harpley and Savage from Barnet to Smithfield. The former, who won, accomplished the task in three-quarters of an hour, and was given an annuity by his master, the Earl of Pembroke, whereupon he entered his Majesty's service.†

"*Whitehall, March* 10, 1680. This morning their Majesties, accompanied with his Royal Highness, and many others of

* "The Domestick Intelligence," No. 73. † *Ibid.*, No. 79.

the Nobility and Gentry belonging to the Court, departed on their way to *New-market*, where, it is said, their Majesties and his Royal Highness do intend to divert themselves for some considerable time, with such pastimes as the Place affords; a number of the Nobility and Gentry being resorted thither, not only from *London* and the places adjacent, but likewise from many other places of the Kingdom, where all necessary conveniences are provided for their reception.

"The day before arrived his Majesties Carriages. They have already begun the Races, on the 4 Instant. The four miles course for £100 was run between *Shuffler* and Mr. *Griffin's Ball*, each bearing about nine stone; 'tis said *Shuffler* reach first the Goal by 40 paces; several others have run since, the particulars of which we have not as yet an account.

"Letters from *New-market* inform us, that his Majesty intends to return for *London* the second of *April*, and 'tis believed he will alter the time of the Horse-Races, and that most of them shall be run during his stay here. His Royal Highness diverts himself Fox-hunting; for the hurt he received aboard the Ship in his leg is almost well, so that now he can walk without a staff.

"There is great Matches daily plaid at Bowls, the Nobility and Gentry much diverting themselves with that exercise.

"There was a Race run at *New-market*, for £50 a Horse between Mr. *Ofley*, and one Mr. *Izinson*, a *Northamptonshire* Gentleman, his Majesty being pleased to be a Spectator.

"Notice was likewise given, that upon *Wednesday*, the 17. instant, the six year old Horse-Plate is to be Run for; and on *Friday*, the 19 instant, the Geldings and Mares Plate; and on the 20 instant, the Races for Spoons and other Plate.

"Likewise on the 18 instant are to be Run several Foot-Races, to a considerable value. There is such a great concourse of People at *New-market*, that they are put to much inconvenience for want of good Lodgings."—"The True Domestick Intelligence," Nos. 72–76.

"This present *Tuesday*, being the 6 of *April*, is a great Horse-race run at *Newmarket*, between Major *Astan's* Horse and another Gentlemans, the six mile course, for £500 each,

carrying ten stone apiece, where a great number of Gentlemen stay, who have laid very considerable sums of money on both sides; but 'tis supposed the odds will lie on the Majors side.

"After that there will be a great Match of Cock-fighting, containing eight Battles, to be betwixt the Earl of *Thomond* and a *Wiltshire* Gentleman.

"On *Thursday* last, being the first of *April*, two Gentlemen with three Footmen, coming from *Newmarket*, were set upon (near a place called *Buntingford*) by nine High-waymen, who had information of a considerable sum of Guineys which they had about them, which they had won at *Newmarket*; some of the Gang rid before the Gentlemen, the rest came up to them with their Pistols cockt, which the Gentlemen espying, one of the Gentlemens servants discharged, and shot one of the Rogues horses in the neck, and one of the Gentlemen shot and wounded another of the Rogues in the back. Those who rid before being allarm'd by a whistle, came back; but the Gentlemen couragiously discharged at them, and rid boldly up to them, and seized upon one of the Rogues, which the rest perceiving, made their escape. One of the Gentlemen hath left his servant near the place with the horse, to see if any one will come to own him, and hath secured in prison the Rogue whom they took. The Gentlemen received no harm, excepting one of them, who hurt one of his fingers by discharging of his own Pistol."—"The True Domestick Intelligence," April 6, 1680, No. 79.

In consequence of the impunity with which the knights of the road plied their trade at this time, Bishop Sanderson desiderated in pure orthodox Latin as to whether an oath or pledge given to highwaymen under compulsion should be kept secret or considered binding. (See his *De Juramenti Obligatione*, Secs. 15–17.)

"It is reported his Majesty will depart of the 20th of this month for *Windsor* and will return again on the 27th and the 28th go to *Newmarket* when 5 considerable Matches will be run, and will return from thence to *Whitehall* on the 20th."—"Mercurius Tivicus," No. 10.

Charles II. 1680. Newmarket. April.

"It is said, His Majesty intends sometime next week to go to *Windsor*, and from thence to *Newmarket*, there to see some Horse-Races, and take other Divertisements."—"Mercurius Anglicus," No. 42.

"This Morning [April 27] between three and four of the Clock, His Majesty accompanied with most of the Court parted from *Whitehall* for *Newmarket*, from whence he is expected back hither on *Friday* next."*—"Mercurius Anglicus," No. 46.

"*Newmarket April 7.* A true List of the Horse Matches to be run here this instant *April* 1680.

"Mr. *Bernard Howards* Ball'd White Leg'd Gelding and Mr. Millwards Horse, called, Second mourning, for 100 Guinnies *per* Horse, Pay or Play, 8 Stone a piece, on Tuesday the Twenty seventh instant, the Beacon course.

"Sir *Rob. Howards* Horse, Crop and Mr. Maies *Drag-on* on the 28. instant, for £200 piece; Crop rides 9. stone, and the other 9 stone and 2 *l* the Beacon course† 2 *l* difference in weight.

"*Leadenheels* and *Post-boy;* on the 28. instant 3. miles, *Leadenheels* rides 8. stone and a half, the other 12 *l* under; for £300 a piece.

"*Red-rose* and *Darcy*, 9 stone a piece on the 29. instant *April* for £500 a Horse the Beacon course.

"Mr. *Bernard Howards* Gelding called Sweet lips and Mr. *Bellinghams Scotch* Galloway for £500 a horse 7. stone and a half a piece, the Beacon course the last of *April:* no more as yet till *October* next."—"Smith's Currant Intelligence," April $\frac{10}{13}$, 1680, No. 18.

"*Newmarket, April* 14. Here are two Horse Matches to

* His Majesty returned from Newmarket to Whitehall on 31st, and was entertained at supper by Sir John Raymond, Sheriff of London, at his house in Skinners' Hall, at Dowgate.—"London Gazette," No. 1499.

† The author of a MS. "Parochial History of Cambridgeshire" says that "Sir Edward Lawrence of St. Ives, who frequented Newmarket in the Time of King Charles 2. told me, that the Long Course, as it is now called, on Newmarket Heath, went then by the name of the Beacon Course."—MS. Ad. Brit. Mus., 5805, fo. 14 *b*.

be run the 30. Instant: (viz.) Mr. *Ashtons* Mare against Mr. *Framptons* Race Mare, for 300, Guinnyes a piece half forfeit, Mr. *Howards* Mare rides Nine stone and half: and the other eight stone and half; we expect a very great meeting here the latter end of this month, and we are told his Majesty will come from *Windsor* to see the Races."—*Ibid.*, April $\frac{13}{17}$, No. 19.

"*Newmarket, April* 27. His Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* came to this place betwixt 12 and one of the Clock in very good health."

"*London, April* 30. This day about 12 of the clock the King and the Duke of *York* returned thither from *Newmarket*, and are to sup this night at Sir Jonathan Raymunds, High Sheriff of this City."—*Ibid.*, $\frac{\text{April } 21}{\text{May } 1}$, No. 23.

"*Newmarket, April* 27. His Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of York came to this place betwixt 12 and one of the Clock in very good health."—"Smith's Currant Intelligence," No. 23.

Charles II. 1680. Newmarket. March—April.

"*Newmarket, March* 12. His Majesty (God be praised) is at this time in very Good Health, to the joy of all his Loyal Protestant Subjects, who have more than nineteen Reasons to pray for his long life. Since their Royal Highnesses return from *Scotland* 'tis said they have been highly Complimented every day, both by the Nobility and Gentry, by City and Country, even to some mens amazement; among others, several worthy Members of the Honourable House of Commons have been introduced and admitted to kiss their hands, whereby some of them are said to have acquitted themselves openly of any false suspitions that they have been secret Enemies of the Dukes Person, or Succession, and that they will ever own him, and pay due respects to him for the future, as he is the King's own and only Brother."—"The Loyal Intelligence," March 16, 1679–80, No. 1.

"*London, March* 12. The Council is to sit at *Whitehall*, notwithstanding his Majesties absence; but if any thing

of moment happen, it is to be transmitted to *New market*. . . .

"*New market, March* 10. About 2 a clock went from hence several hundreds of Gentlemen to meet their Majesties and his Royal Highness, who came thither between 3 and 4 a clock in the afternoon accompani'd with many Nobility and Gentry where they were received with all imaginable manifestations of joy, their being a great Supper prepared ready for them. . . .

"*Newmarket, March* 11*th*. His Majestie hath appointed all the Races for the Plate, to be run on *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday* next; which were not wont to be run till the latter end of the meeting.

"Upon *Thursday* last, his Majesty, and his Royal Highness, went a Hawking upon New-market Heath, about four or five miles distant from the Palace, accompanied with three Troops of the Guards.

"The Lord *Grandison* hath made a Match with the Lord *Thomond* at Cock-fighting, 21 Battles for a great sum of money.

"There hath been great Robbing near New-market, six Coaches having been robb'd of several sums of money and cloaths; you may expect a fuller account of this in the next.

"A Person of Quality was robbed of £10 on *New-market Heath*, by three persons on *Thursday* last. . . .

"*Tuesday* the 16*th* of *March*, His Royal Highness rid a Fox Hunting about 20 miles from *Newmarket*, and returned again the same night.

"*Newmarket*, Wednesday *March* 17, the Plate Race was run by the Kings Horse *Tankot*, Mr. Mayes Horse *Dragon* the Duke of *Monmouth's* Horse *Spot*, and the Topping Horse of *Newmarket*, *Red Rose*, the 4 miles course; but who had the best on't, We cannot yet give you an exact account. . . .

"A Courtier loosing a considerable sum of money at Bowls; and being highly enraged, sends his servant to one of the Winners, who staid at an Ordinary till his servants return with an answer; but the Winner (being engaged) could

not come: The loser immediately goes to the Winner, and with his fist struck the other; upon which their Swords were drawn, and some small harm being done, they parted; His *Majesty* was pleased to command the person who began the quarrel, to depart the Court during their stay at *Newmarket*.

"On *Thursday* last was a great match of Cock fighting, between the E. of *Thomond*, and a West Country Gentleman, for £5 a Cock, *His Majesty* and most of the Nobility being present; the Earl of *Thomond* having the odds on his side. . . .

"Tis said his Majesty will be at *Newmarket* in *May* next, several Horse-races are appointed to be there, his Majesty having lost at this time in all the Races he was concerned in."—"Banks's Currant Intelligence: or, An Impartial Account of Transactions both Foreign and Domestick," Nos. 1–4.

During this spring meeting the king entertained the Vice-Chancellor and the dons of the University of Cambridge at the palace. The jockeys were similarly honoured. The ordinary expenses of the king and queen during this visit to Newmarket came to £1,100 4*s.* 6¾*d.**

The expenses of the king at Newmarket in April and May, 1680, were only £85 9*s.* 4¾*d.*

"Whereas there are several Stage-Players, Mountebanks, Rope-Dancers, and others who shew motions and strange sights, wander about the Countries with forged Licences, pre-

* Expensis of the entertainment &c provided by command of the King for the Vice Chancellor & the Doctors of the University of Cambridge at Newmarket in the month of March 1679 and 1680 £55. 5. 6. Expenss diet et^{c} pro lez Jockys apud Newmarkett xxx^{mo} Die Martij $\overset{xx}{MDCjjjj} \sim$ xxxiij^{li} iij^{s} ij^{d} ob. Expenss Diet et^{c} pro Rege et Regina apud Newmarkett mense Martij MDClxxix et $\overset{xx}{DCjjjj}^{o} \sim \overset{L}{M}Cx^{li}$ iiij^{s} vj^{d} ob *q r.* Cofferer's Accs. (Series ii., Rot 114, box E.)

tended to be granted from His Majesties Office of the Revels; These are therefore to give notice to all persons who at present have Licences for that purpose which are not yet expired, that they forthwith bring them in to Charles Killegrew Esq; Master of the Revels, to the end that they may have the same renewed under his hand and Seal, and Printed in Red Letters for the discovery of such abuses. And all the Justices of the Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers are hereby desired to Apprehend and Punish according to Law all such persons who shall continue the said abuses."—The "London Gazette," March $\frac{15}{18}$, 1679, No. 1495.

"*Newmarket, March* 23. On Sunday last [March 21] the Vice-Chancellor accompanied with the Heads of the Colledges, and others of the University of *Cambridge*, in all to the number of about 200 persons, came hither in their Formalities, to pay their Duty to His Majesty; which having done, they likewise awaited upon the Duke, and complimented him upon his safe return from *Scotland;* after which they were by the King's command entertained at Dinner. It's said the Court will continue here till the third day of the next month."—The "London Gazette," March $\frac{22}{25}$, 1680, No. 1497.

Miss Strickland, in her "Lives of the Queens of England," says, "The Duke of York accompanied the king to the spring races at Newmarket, but Mary Beatrice remained at St. James's with the Princess Anne and her own little Isabella. The Duke made a journey from Newmarket to London on purpose to visit her, and returned the next day, which, considering there was no such locomotive facilities for travelling as in these times, may be regarded as almost a lover-like mark of attention. The virtues and conjugal devotion of this princess were gradually winning a greater empire over the heart of James than had been gained by her beauty in its early bloom, when she came to England as his bride. It was not till she had been his wife six years, that James appears to have been fully sensible of the value of the prize he had drawn in the matrimonial lottery, and that she was possessed of qualifications more worthy of admiration than those external graces which

Charles II. 1680. March. Newmarket.

had been celebrated by the most distinguished poets of the age. Mary Beatrice endeavoured to keep up an interest for her husband with the gay world, by giving brilliant balls and entertainments, and appearing often in public. The Duke of York himself began to recover his proper position in the court, and his levees were well attended again; but when the king was suddenly attacked with a fever towards the end of May, they were thronged with time-serving courtiers." *

Charles II. 1680. Newmarket. September.

It seems the king was again at Newmarket for a brief visit in May, but no particulars relating to it have transpired. The autumn meeting, on the contrary, has been fairly described.

"*Whitehall, Sept.* 16. This morning their Majesties and his Royal Highness went hence to *Newmarket* to pass a fortnight or three weeks there."—The "London Gazette," Sept. $\frac{16}{20}$, 1680, No. 1548.

"*Newmarket, Sept.* 24. The 22 Instant their Majesties, their Royal Highnesses, and the Lady *Anne*, with the whole Court, went from hence to the Earl of *Arlington's* House at *Euston*, and this evening returned hither again, very much satisfied with the place, and their good reception there."—*Ibid.*, Sept. $\frac{27}{30}$, No. 1551.

"September 16. Their majesties and his royal highnesse went to Newmarket to passe some time there."—Luttrell's "Diary," vol. i., p. 55.

October. "October 6. The Queen returned from Newmarket much indisposed.

"October 9. His majestie and his royall highnesse returned to Whitehall from Newmarket, very much dissatisfied with the town."—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

"*Newmarket, Octob.* 2. His Majesty, God be praised, enjoyes perfect health, and has declared his intention to re-

* Vol. vi., p. 109.

turn to *Whitehall* this day sevennight."—The "London Gazette," $\frac{\text{Sept. 30,}}{\text{Oct. 4,}}$ 1680. No. 1552.

"*Whitehall, Octob.* 9. This afternoon His Majesty and His Royal Highness, returned hither from *Newmarket*."—*Ibid.*, Oct. $\frac{7}{11}$, No. 1554.

Sir John Reresby, who was on a visit at the palace at Newmarket, does not refer to the races in his "Memoirs." The State Papers are also silent on the subject. Sidney Godolphin sent despatches every day to Whitehall. They contain no allusion to the sports; but they exhibit the young minister, who subsequently became one of the most prominent patrons of the Turf, handling the affairs of state with great tact and ability. He managed to make the king attend to routine business in a way never accomplished by any other minister at Newmarket. He had to transact the intricate details of the expedition to Tangier, under the greatest difficulties, yet successfully. He reconciled Lord Cavendish with the Duke of Devonshire; drew up proclamations to banish the Papists from London; attended on the court in its excursions to Euston and elsewhere in the vicinity of Newmarket; everything he undertook was brought to a successful issue.* In the words of his royal master, "He was never in the way, nor ever out of it."

"September 30, 1680 . . . thence over a spacious heath, many miles long and broad, where we had a fine prospect of Ely Minster, to . . . ; and thence to Newmarket, where we had the honour to see his Majesty, and the Duke of York; thence over the spacious heath to Stourbridge, where the noted yearly fair is, where we had the prospect of two churches in one churchyard, built by two sisters; and thence to Cambridge, where we lodged at night."—Ralph Thoresby's "Diary," vol. i., p. 65.

Anne, Countess of Sunderland,† in a familiar letter to her

* State Papers, Dom., bundle 257, *passim*. "London Gazette," No. 1553.

† Second daughter of the Earl of Bristol, by Lady Anne Russel, and wife of Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland.

relative, H.E. the Hon. Henry Sidney, tells him that she dined at Cheveley on the 28th of September, and saw "the race between Gee and Tucker." The same night she attended a state ball at Newmarket Palace, given by the Duchess [of York?]. On the 1st and 2nd of October, her ladyship was still at Newmarket, when her lord and master was engaged in play "all day and night, loosing such vast sums, that it was the talk of the coffey-houses." *

Referring to the banishment of the Duke of York, which was decreed by the king at Newmarket during this meeting,

Charles II. 1680. October.

Miss Strickland tells us that his Duchess, Mary Beatrice, had "visited Cambridge the latter end of September, and while there gave a ball to propitiate the University. From Cambridge she came to Newmarket, to join the Duke, who was there with their Majesties for the October races. In the midst of those gay festive scenes, Mary Beatrice and her lord bore anxious hearts, for it was at that time the question of his royal highness's banishment from the court was daily debated in council. James was desirous of being permitted to defend himself from the attack which he knew would be made upon him at the approaching meeting of Parliament, and the ministers were for driving him beyond the seas. Charles temporized, as usual, by taking a middle course; which was to send his brother back to Scotland, but with all possible respect, as his representative in the government of that realm. . . . The King's pleasure was communicated to the Duke of York on the 18th of October, with directions for him to embark for Scotland on the 20th. His fair and faithful consort was, as usual, ready to share his adverse fortune." †

Charles II. Newmarket. 1679–1680. The Palace.

The sum of £244 3*s.* 1¾*d.* was laid out on the royal palace at Newmarket for the year 1679–1680. Among the materials used the cost of ironmonger's wares was £6 3*s.* 5¾*d.*, lead sash-weights £2 19*s.* 3*d.*, gilt rings for sashes £1 10*s.*, smith's work £9 19*s.*, glass and glazier's work £46 15*s.* 5*d.* The wages and

* Sidney, "Diary and Correspondence," vol. ii., pp. 100–108.

† "History of the Queens of England," vol. vi., p. 111.

entertainments of bricklayers, at 2*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* each per day, was £5 ; of carpenters, at 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.*, £10 5*s.* ; of plumbers, at 3*s.*, 18*s.* Henry Winstanley,* the clerk of the works, for 30 days riding charges, at 1*s.* 9*d.* a day, together with 8*s.* 6*d.* by him laid out for sundry small provisions, received £3 1*s.* The taskwork cost £159 9*s.* 5½*d.*† A further sum of £195 2*s.* 6¾*d.*, by another account, appears to have been expended on the works and buildings at Newmarket during the year 1679–1680.‡

The expenses of the king and queen at Euston Hall in September amounted to £236 8*s.* 0¼*d.*, and at Newmarket, in October, to £552 7*s.* 6¾*d.*§

To Henry Carr, Esqr, Gentleman Vsher dayly Waiter for his extraordinary attendance on his Ma^ty at Newmarket (when it was not his time to waite) from the 29th of March 16$\frac{7}{8}\frac{8}{0}$ to the iij^d^ of Aprill following, at xx^s^ a day, by warr^t^, etc. A.O.R. (Rot. 118.) **1680. April.**

To Jervace Price, Esqr, Gentleman of the Bowes in Ordinary to his Matie in part of cxxvj^li^ allowed him, by warr^t^ etc for his Charges in attending his Matie with his Guns at Windsor & Newmarket Clxviij^t^ dayes between the xix^th^ of

* In 1686, Henry Winstanley, clerk of the works at Newmarket Palace, published, at Littlebury, his folio of engravings of Audley End. It bears the following dedication : "To The most Excellent Majesty of James II^d^. By the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c, This Book of the Ground-Platt's, Generall and Particular Prospects of all the Parts of his Majesty's Royal Pallace of Audley End, is most humbly ℙsented & dedicated by his Majesties Most Loyall Subject and Servant, Henry Winstanley, Clarke of the Works of the said Pallace, and that at Newmarket." In a panegyrical epistle to James, Earl of Suffolk, he explains the object of executing his work, which seems to have arisen by a desire to perpetuate "the magnificence of so great a building," according to the rules of perspective, "lying obscure and not took notice of," although he considered it "ought to be esteemed not inferior to any in this kingdom and equal to any in Europe." There is also an engraved epistle to Sir Christopher Wren, who was the author's patron and friend. The volume contains twenty-four views.

† L. T. R. Works and Buildings, No. 98, MS., P.R.O.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 99, m. 3. 4.

§ Cofferer's Accs. Rot. *s.d.*

Aprill 1680, and the ix^th^ of October following at xv^s^ ℔ diem . . . lxviii^li^ xj^s^ iij^d^. (Rot. 119.)

To Thomas Fordham, Yeoman of the Bowes in Ordinary to his M^atie^ in part of xlij^li^ allowed to him, by like warrant etc, for his Charges in attending his M^atie^ with his Guns at the same places the same time at v^s^ ℔ diem . . . v^li^ x^s^. (*Ibid.*)

1680. September. October.

To John Chace, Apothecary in Ordinary to his Ma^ts^ Person by warrant of the Lord Chamberlaine dated the xij^th^ of November 1680 for his Rydeing charges in his attendance upon his Ma^ty^ at Newmarket from the xvj^th^ of September 1680 to the ix^th^ of October following at xv^s^ ℔ day etc. (Rot. 118.)

To Dr Nicholas Staggins, Master of his M^ats^ Musicke by like Warrant dated the viij^th^ of January 1680–[81] ffor his ryding charges in his attendance on his Ma^ty^ at the same place, for the same time at x^s^ a day etc. (*Ibid.*)

To Edmund Fowler, Musician in Ordinary for his like charges in attending on his Ma^ts^ Person at Newmarket from the xvj^th^ of Septr 1680 to the ix^th^ of October following at x^s^ ℔ diem by warr^t^ etc. (*Ibid.*)

c. 1680. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Memoir.

JOHN WILMOT, EARL OF ROCHESTER, the famous wit of the court of the Merry Monarch, was, in some respects, closely connected with the Turf as an owner of race-horses and a prominent *habitué* at Newmarket and other meetings. This nobleman was born at Ditchley, in Oxfordshire, on the 10th of April, 1647, and was educated at the free school at Burford. Here he acquired the Latin language to such perfection, that to his dying day he retained a quick relish for the beauties of that tongue; and afterwards became extremely versed in the authors of the Augustean age, which he often read. In 1659 when only twelve years old, he was admitted a nobleman of Wadham College, Oxford, and in 1661 was, with some other persons of rank, created M.A. in convocation. Afterwards he travelled through France and Italy; and at his return frequented the court, which, Anthony Wood observes, not only corrupted his morals, but made him a perfect Hobbist in

principle. In the mean time he became one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the king, and comptroller of Woodstock Park. He also saw some service in the royal navy; and in the engagement with the Dutch at Bergen, in Norway, he showed the greatest resolution, and gained a high reputation for courage.

The Earl of Rochester, before he made the grand tour, had given somewhat into that disorderly and intemperate way of living which the joy of the whole nation upon the restoration of Charles II. had introduced; yet during his travels he had at least acquired a habit of sobriety. But falling into court company, where excesses were continually practised, he soon became intemperate, and the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed with wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many, to be more diverted by that humour, strove to engage him deeper and deeper in intoxication. This at length so entirely subdued him, that, as he told Bishop Burnet, he was for five years together continually drunk; not all the while under the visible effect of ardent liquor, but so inflamed in his blood that he was never cool enough to be master of himself. Many of his escapades, such as the Tower-street incident, are too well known to be related here. There are, however, other adventures of the earl, relating to our subject, which have escaped the notice of most of his biographers.

Soon after the celebrated epitaph upon the king became known, Rochester was, as is well known, banished from the court. About the same time it happened that the Duke of Buckingham was in disgrace for an offence of a different nature, and being disengaged from any particular attachment in town, he and Rochester resolved to set out in quest of adventures. After disguising themselves in a proper manner for supporting the characters they intended to assume, they jointly took an inn (said to be the Green Man at Six-Mile-Bottom), which was to be let on the Newmarket road, where each in his turn officiated as landlord. During the race-meetings they were concerned in many ludicrous and still more scandalous transactions at this hostelry.

Having carefully observed the handsomest women in their vicinity, they invited such of their neighbours as had wives and daughters of that description to frequent feasts, where the men were plied hard with good liquor, and the women sufficiently warmed to make as little resistance as would be agreeable to their inclinations. By this stratagem they were frequently enabled to effect their guilty purpose, and it is difficult to say whether it be possible for two men to live to a worse end.

It is natural to imagine that this kind of life could not be of long duration. Entertainments so frequently repeated, and for which no payment was ever required or accepted, could not fail to excite a strong suspicion either that the innkeepers would not be long able to keep their house open, or that their customers were greatly superior to the occupation they had adopted. Of this the two profligate noblemen were fully sensible; but they were not much concerned about it, as they had no intention to pursue the same kind of adventures except during the spring and autumn meetings at Newmarket, variety being the life of their enjoyments. It was on those occasions when the presence of the court and the popularity of the races attracted such large and promiscuous customers to their inn that they exulted in these novel escapades.

Among other adventures of this nature, the two noblemen resolved to accomplish a favourite object. In the neighbourhood lived an old miser who had a very pretty young wife. He watched her with as much care as he did his money, and never trusted her out of his sight but under the protection of an old maiden sister, who had never herself experienced the joys of love, and bore no great affection to such of her sex as were young and handsome. The noble innkeepers had no doubt that he would accept a treat like many others, especially as he was fond of good living when it cost him nothing: and, except on such occasions, he was the most temperate and abstemious man alive. But then they could never prevail upon him to bring his wife; notwithstanding they urged the presence of so many females of character in the neighbour-

hood to keep her company, their only study being then how to deceive the old sinner at home. This difficulty they soon found the means of overcoming. For this purpose it was agreed that Rochester should disguise himself in woman's clothes, and that while the husband was feasting with the duke, he should make trial of his skill upon the old woman at home. He had learned that she had no aversion to the bottle, when she could come secretly and conveniently at it. Equipped like a country lass, and furnished with a bottle of liquor, he proceeded to the house of the old miser. It was with difficulty he found means to speak to the old woman, but at last obtained the favour. He began to tell the occasion of his coming, in hopes of being invited into the house, but could not gain admittance further than the porch, with the door ajar. He was now obliged to have recourse to his last expedient, and, pretending to be suddenly taken ill, fell down upon the threshold. The noise brought out the young wife, who with some trouble persuaded her keeper to help the stranger into the house, from the regard to the decorum of her sex, and the unhappy condition she was in. The door had not been long shut before the impostor by degrees recovered, and, being placed upon a chair, canted a very religious thanksgiving to the old gentlewoman for her kindness, observing how deplorable it was to be subject to such fits, which often took her in the street and exposed her to many accidents; but every now and then she took a sip at the bottle, recommending it also to the old duenna, who was sure to drink a hearty dram. Rochester had in his pocket another bottle qualified with opium, which he presented to the woman, who, drinking it with greediness, soon fell fast asleep. Overjoyed by his success, and inflamed with desire, his countenance changed colour, which made the artless victim of his base passion imagine that the fit was returning. He took advantage of her apprehension to ask if she would be so charitable as to let him lie down on the bed. The good-natured creature showed him the way, and, staying by him at his request, he began to make some indirect inquiries concerning her husband, whom she painted in his true colours, as a surly, jealous old

tyrant. Then, under the idea that "she was speaking to a female," she was the less reserved in her behaviour and expressions, and his lordship found that a tale of love would not be disagreeable to her. In short, he revealed his sex, and without much opposition overcame her scruples. Not content with this, he prevailed upon the unfortunate dupe of his artifices to embrace the opportunity of releasing herself from the tyranny of her keeper, whom she robbed of a considerable sum of money, and, leaving the old woman still asleep, went off with Rochester about midnight towards Newmarket, to the inn. The old miser, on his return home, finding his sister asleep, his wife fled, and his money gone, was thrown into a state of madness, and hanged himself. Rochester was soon cloyed with the possession of his victim, on which he relinquished her to the duke, who being in his turn weary of her, advised her to go to London, where a life of infamy, and a miserable death, were probably the rewards of the crimes which she was thus instigated to commit. This complicated villany was one of those burdens which lay so heavy on Rochester's mind when oppressed with the terrors of a deathbed repentance.

Soon after this infamous adventure, the King, coming that way, found these two profligate noblemen at their posts in the inn, restored Buckingham to favour, and permitted Rochester and the Duke to accompany him to Newmarket.

Rochester now pursued the same extravagant career of pleasure as before, and continued to indulge in freedoms with the King whom he had so recently offended and from whose court he was nominally banished. But at Newmarket, during the sojourns of the Merry Monarch, court etiquette was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Still Rochester writhed under the "disgrace" to which he was subjected and thirsted for revenge; and in order to effect his purpose contrived the following stratagem. He one night accompanied the King to a celebrated house of intrigue, where the finest women in Europe were to be found during the races. The King made no scruple to assume his usual disguise and to go with him. While he was engaged with one of the ladies,

she, having been previously instructed by Rochester, picked his pocket of all his money and watch, which the King did not immediately miss. Neither the people of the house nor the girl herself knew or had the least suspicion of the quality of the visitor. After some time he inquired for Rochester, but was told that his companion had quitted the house without taking leave; but what was his embarrassment when, on searching his pockets in order to discharge the reckoning, he discovered that his money was gone. He was then reduced to ask the favour of the mistress of the house to give him credit till the next day, as the gentleman who had come in with him and had not returned was to have paid for both. The consequence of this request was that he was much abused and laughed at; the woman of the house plainly told him that she had seldom been served such dirty tricks, and would not permit him to stir till the reckoning was paid. She then called one of her bullies to take care of him. In this ridiculous dilemma stood the British monarch, the prisoner of a bawd; and the life on which were fixed a nation's hopes was thus put in the power of a ruffian. After much altercation, the King at length proposed that she should accept a ring which he then took off his finger, in pledge for her money, which she refused, telling him that she was no judge of the value of the ring; she did not choose to accept such pledges. The disguised monarch then desired that a jeweller might be called to give his opinion of the value of it; but he was answered that the expedient was impracticable, as no jeweller could then be supposed to be out of bed. After much entreaty his Majesty at last prevailed on the fellow to knock up the jeweller and show him the ring. In this he acquiesced; and no sooner had the jeweller inspected it, than he inquired, with eyes fixed on the man, whom he had got in his house; on which the other answered that it was a black-looking, ugly rake, who had no money in his pocket, and was obliged to pawn his ring. The jeweller found the ring so immensely rich that he exclaimed, "But one man in the nation can afford to wear it, and that one is the King." Astonished at this circumstance, he went out with the messenger, in order to

be fully satisfied of so extraordinary an affair; and as soon as he entered the room, he fell upon his knees, and with the utmost respect presented the ring to his Majesty. The people of the house, finding the extraordinary quality of their guest, were confounded, and asked pardon in the most submissive manner. The King with great good-humour forgave them, and, laughing, asked whether the ring would not bear another bottle. Thus ended this adventure, in which Charles was taught how risky it was to go in disguise on such nocturnal frolics. Rochester he never forgave, and would never see him after this adventure. By constant indulgence in every kind of licentiousness and irregularity, Rochester wore out an excellent constitution before he had completed his thirty-fourth year. He expired on the 26th of July, 1680, at the lodge at Woodstock Park, of which he was ranger, without any convulsion, or so much as a groan; for, though he had not completed his thirty-fourth year, nature was so entirely exhausted as to be unable to make the least effort. Thus died John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, who was truly, as the Rev. Mr. Simpson says, "a great man every way; a great wit, a great scholar, a great poet, a great sinner, and a great penitent."

END OF VOL. II.

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